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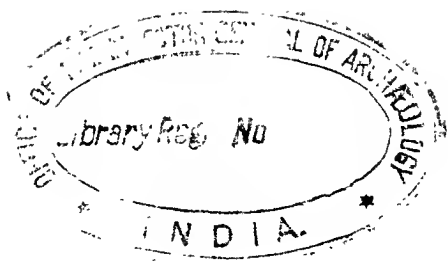
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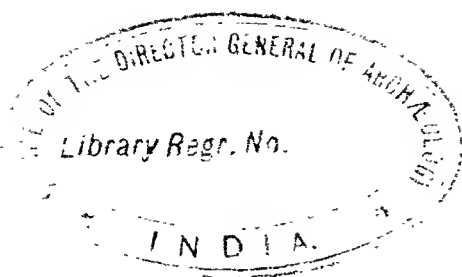
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RECORD

OF THE

BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS:

Translated from the Chinese

BY

HERBERT A. GILES,

Of H. M.'s Consular Service.

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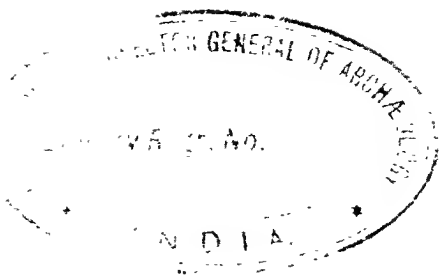
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PREFACE.

The "Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms" is a meagre narrative of one of the most extraordinary journeys ever undertaken and brought to a successful issue. A Buddhist priest, named Fa Hsien, travels from China through India to Ceylon, on to Sumatra and back to China by sea; his object being to obtain copies of the Sacred Books of Buddhism for the further enlightenment of his fellow countrymen at home.

This work was translated into French by Remusat, but he did not live to superintend its publication. He had, in fact, only revised about one half, that half being accompanied by valuable and exhaustive notes. In this state it fell—we were almost saying, among thieves—into the hands of Klaproth, who, with the slender assistance of Landresse and his own very considerable *aplomb*, managed to fill up the blanks of the latter portion, add some bulky notes after the manner, but lacking the scholarship, of Rémusat, and generally patch up the whole in a form presentable to the public. This was subsequently translated into English by a Mr. Laidlay.

In 1869 the Rev. S. Beal, Chaplain in Her Majesty's

Fleet, published a new version of the travels of Fa Hsien, in which he corrected some of the mistakes, grammatical and otherwise, which disfigured Rémusat's translation; but managed, it has appeared to us, to introduce in the process a very considerable number of his own. Whether this is so or not we shall leave to the discrimination of those of our readers who understand Chinese, and will take the trouble to follow the notes in which we point out Mr. Beal's errors, or seek to justify any renderings of our own which may differ from those adopted by our predecessors. We would submit that the present translation was undertaken solely with a view to get at an exact grammatical analysis of the text. We do not pretend to have elucidated any new points in the great field of Buddhism, or to have succeeded in identifying any of the hitherto unknown or doubtful localities visited or mentioned by Fa Hsien. This would be the province of those who have devoted more time than ourselves to the fascinating study of ancient geography;—not, indeed, that we mean to insinuate that translation is our own particular province, for we would gladly have seen this task in the hands of some such accomplished scholar as Mayers, Edkins, or Eitel. In that case, future students of the "Buddhistic Kingdoms" would have had at their disposal an English version, proof against any criticism that could be brought to bear. As it is, we can only hope that the present translation will be found a much more accurate rendering than that published by Mr. Beal, who in the year 1869 seems to have been quite unqualified for the task he undertook. He certainly corrected a great many of Rémusat's blunders, speaking somewhat unctuously of the "looseness" of the French version, but we

could not dismiss from our minds the unpleasant suspicion that Mr. Beal had drawn upon the valuable notes to that despised volume to a greater extent than he was frank enough to acknowledge. We shall avoid this imputation by invariably quoting the sources of information given; and whenever we have occasion to raise a question as to the proper way of translating any passage, we shall try to put the arguments for and against both views before the reader in as impartial a manner as possible. Our object will be to express the real meaning of the text in the most simple language, unadorned with tawdry flowers of composition: in fact, rather partaking of the rugged, unpolished style of the original. We shall welcome any strictures, however severe, that may lead us to a better appreciation of this difficult author. We have not spared the feelings of Mr. Beal, and we court no quarter ourselves. For there is nothing disgraceful in misunderstanding a sentence of Chinese; it need not brand anyone with infamy or overwhelm him with shame. In support of which dangerous theory and for the encouragement of all erring students of Chinese, we will now relate how a very extraordinary blunder was once made by a celebrated sinologue, and escaped the eagle eye of criticism for many years, during which period the author of its existence rose to power and fame, and is now Her Majesty's Minister at the Court of Peking.

In the *Hsin Ching Lu*, published in 1859 by Sir Thomas Wade, a translation is given of the first chapter of the well-known Sacred Edict. Paragraph 37, on page 50, contains Sir Thomas Wade's rendering of a Chinese proverb quoted in the original text. For the benefit of those who have not a copy of this work at hand we will give the

passage in Chinese, accompanied by Sir Thomas Wade's version and what is unquestionably the correct one; so as to shew the slippery nature of the Chinese language even in the hands of an acknowledged master of it, at that date of fifteen years' standing among the ranks of sinologues.

TEXT.

Sir Thomas Wade's Translation:—"And again a proverb says with equal truth, It may be well to kill another; it is perdition to kill oneself."

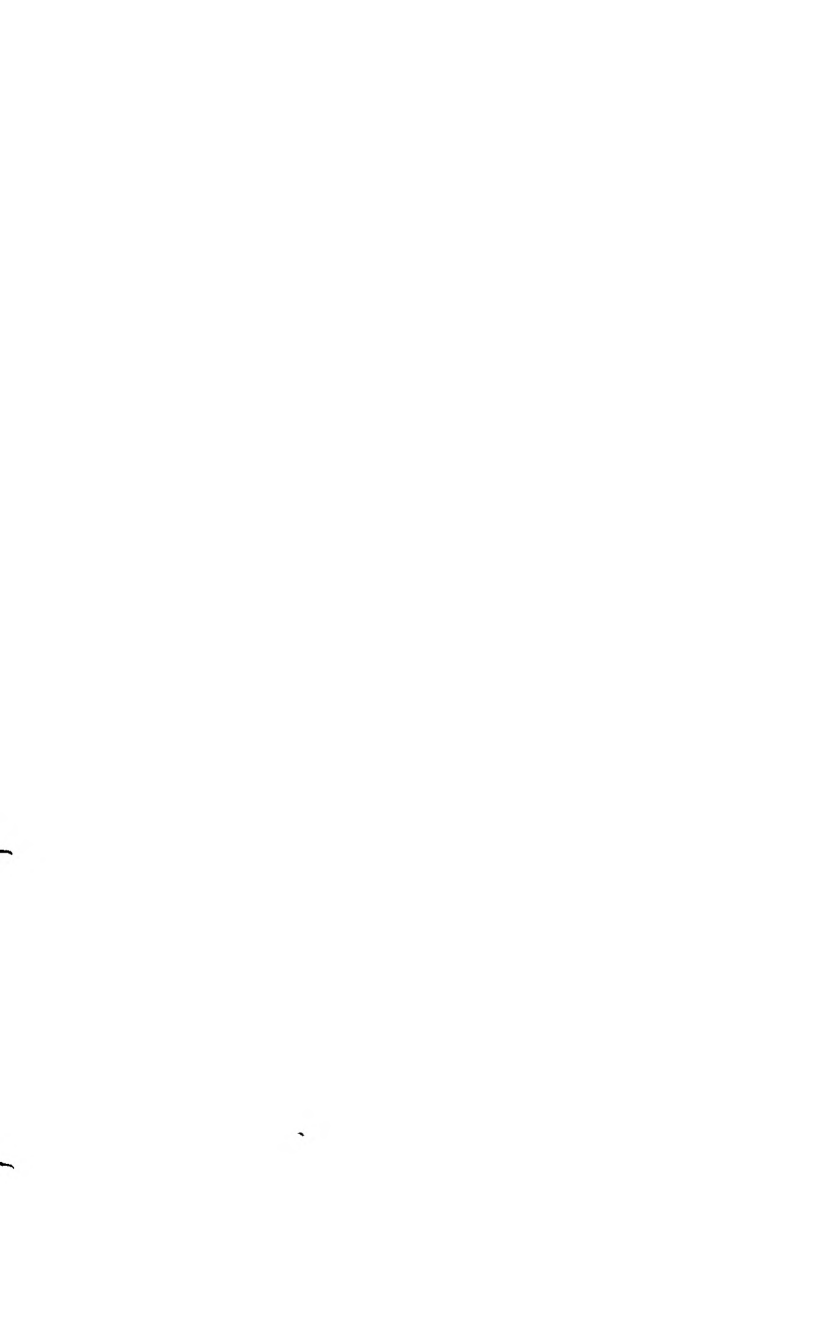
了 他 好 又
是 人 殺 設
自 壞 了 得
已 殺 是 好

The correct translation:—"And again a proverb well says, Good as those may be, they are strangers; bad as these may be, they are (part of) oneself."

The allusion is to quarrelling brothers who seem disposed to make friends among outsiders rather than of each other, and the proverb signifies in plain English that "A bad brother is better than a good stranger." The catch lies in the word 殺 which besides meaning "to slay" is often used as an intensive of a preceding adjective, e.g., 好殺—good beyond all expression. But there is yet further consolation in store for the timorous. Dr. Williams in his new dictionary, published after forty years' study of Chinese, quotes the above proverb under the character 殺 with the following eccentric mistranslation:—"If you love the child greatly, yet he is another's: "if you feel that he is a ruined child, still he is my own." Dr. Williams further makes the mistake of reading 好 in the 去聲, whereby he quite destroys the very clear antithesis between 好 and 壞.

We need only add that Fa Hsien's Record contains

many much more obscure passages than the trifling proverb given above. The difficulty of correctly interpreting the written language of China has long been a household word ; and where even the strongest fall, the weak need not be ashamed to slip.



ORIGINAL INTRODUCTION.¹

The "Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms," in one volume, was composed by Sung Shih, otherwise called Fa Hsien. Tu Yu² in his *T'ung Tien* quotes this work, but makes the author Fa Ming. He did so because the word Hsien had been appropriated by the emperor Chung Tsung,³ and men of the T'ang dynasty had substituted Ming. For this reason there occur in the original commentary the four words "changed because imperially appropriated."

Fa Hsien returned during the I Hsi period⁴ of the Chin dynasty, having started from Ch'ang-ngan and travelled

¹ This has never to our knowledge been translated before; neither have the two *Notes* by native scholars which follow Chapter XL. See Appendix.

² Here 杜佑. Mr. Mayers, in his *Chinese Reader's Manual*, gives 杜祐, who is evidently the same individual. "9th century A.D. A scholar of profound erudition." His great work, the 通典, is classed by Mr. Wylie in his *Notes on Chinese Literature* among "Treatises on the Constitution." It was in 200 books, divided into 8 sections on Political Economy, Music, Geography, etc.

³ A.D. 648.

⁴ The style I Hsi began A.D. 405. Fa Hsien got back to China in the twelfth year or A.D. 417.

to India, passing through more than thirty countries. On arriving at the capital,⁵ he and a Buddhist priest put this book together between them. Hu Chên-hêng⁶ had it cut on blocks and entered in his private catalogue, naming it on the cover according to its old designation, viz.—“Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms.” Yet in his note at the end Chên-hêng says it ought to be called the “Narrative of Fa Hsien.” Now in Li Tao-yüan’s commentary on the *Shui Ching*⁷ where he quotes “From this point following the range, the pilgrims journeyed southwest for fifteen days”⁸ and so on, eighty-nine words in all; and where he quotes “On the upper Ganges there is a country”⁹ and so on, two hundred and seventy-six words in all,—in both these cases he speaks of the “Narrative of Fa Hsien.” Chên-hêng’s statement is therefore not without authority. In the Miscellaneous Records of the Sui dynasty there is an entry of the “Narrative of Fa Hsien,” in two volumes, and of the “Biography of Fa Hsien,” in one volume, the authors’ names not being given; and in the Geographical Miscellany the “Record of the Buddhistic Kingdom,” in one volume, is mentioned, with a note saying that it was composed by the Buddhist priest Fa Hsien. Thus we have two distinct entries in one work and three separate names, so that it is not absolutely necessary to change the title to the “Narrative of Fa Hsien.”

⁵ Nanking.

⁶ A celebrated scholar of the Ming dynasty.

⁷ The earliest work on the water-courses of China. Li Tao-yüan flourished during the Northern Wei dynasty. *Wylie*.

⁸ Chapter VII.

⁹ Chapter XXV.

In this book we find India made the Middle Kingdom and China treated as a foreign country. This is because the ecclesiastics give precedence to their religion, which anomaly is not worth arguing about. Again, Yu-t'ien,¹⁰ or as it is now called Ho-t'ien, has been from time immemorial devoted to Mahommedanism, as is amply borne out in "the Illustrated Notices of Western Countries," reproduced in the present dynasty by Imperial authority. Yet Fa Hsien informs us that there were fourteen Buddhist monasteries and several tens of thousands of priests, which statement we need not accept as literally true. Nevertheless, the old Buddhistic records of the Six Dynasties have stood the test of time; and since both the style in which they are written is antique and elegant, and as narratives they have not been equalled in later generations, there is no reason why they should not be preserved to extend the stock of information on such marvellous subjects.

In Fa Hsien's work we have "the third year of Hung Shih, being the cyclical year Chi Hai." According to the History of the Chin dynasty, speaking of Yao Ch'ang, the second year of Hung Shih corresponds with the fourth year of Lung Ngan,¹¹ and should be the cyclical year Keng Tzu. Fa Hsien's "Record" is therefore one year wrong.¹² On the other hand, the History of the Chin dynasty (§ National Records), speaking of Chao Shih-hu,

¹⁰ Khoten.

¹¹ Or A.D. 400.

¹² As Chi Hai 己亥 would be only the third year of Lung Ngan, or A.D. 399. But, granting that the 三 is not a misprint for 二, we make Fa Hsien to be two years wrong. For if the second year of Hung Shih was 庚子, the third would be 辛丑 or A.D. 401.

says the sixth year of Chien Wu corresponds with the fifth year of Hsien K'ang, the cyclical characters being Chi Hai; but it is stated in the Chin-shih-lu¹³ that on the tablets of Chao Heng-shan and Li Chün, as well as in the ancestral hall of Hsi Men-pao, the sixth year of Chien Wu is made to correspond with the cyclical year K'eng Tzŭ. This again is a mistake of a year.¹⁴ The reason is that at the above period the various States were separated from and contending with each other, and the style of the reign was recklessly changed, sometimes annually, sometimes even oftener, without there being any fixed rule. Further, the North and South being divided, and events being reported in various ways, it is difficult to decide that history must necessarily be right and Fa Hsien wrong. In the present edition, the original text is given word for word, that the precept may be carried out of "putting aside points of which we are in doubt."¹⁵

ANONYMOUS.

¹³ A catalogue of inscriptions.

¹⁴ Which the reader need not trouble himself to test.

¹⁵ *Lun I'ü*, Chapter II. 多聞闕疑.

RECORD

OF THE

BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS.

CHAPTER I.

Formerly, when Fa Hsien was at Ch'ang-an,¹ he was distressed at the imperfect state of the Disciplines;² and, subsequently, in the second year of Hung Shih, the Chihai³ of the cycle, he started with Hui Chiao, Tao Cheng, Hui Ling, Hui Wei and others to go to India and try to obtain these Disciplines. They started from Ch'ang-an, crossed the Lung (mountain), and arrived at the country of Ch'ien Kuei⁴ where they spent the rainy season. The rainy season over they went on to the country of Nou

CHAPTER I.

1. Now Hsian Fu 西安府, the capital of Shensi 陝西.

2. One of the three classes into which the Sacred Books of Buddhism are divided:—(1) 經 *chiao*, scriptures of Buddha himself; (2) 律 *lu*, disciplines; and (3) 論 *luan*, discourses on theology, metaphysics etc).

3. 己亥, or A.D. 399.

4. 乾歸, the name of a prince. Mr. Biot varies these two characters Kou Kwei. 苻健. Note in the next sentence is also the name of a prince.

Tau, and crossing the Yang-lou range arrived at the garrison city of Chang-yeh. Chang-yeh was in a state of rebellion and the roads impassable; and therefore the Prince, being anxious about them, kept them there at his own expense." Thus they fell in with Chih Yen, Hui Chien, Seng Shao, Pao Yun, Seng Ching and others; and rejoicing to find their errands the same, they spent the rainy season together. The rainy season over, they again went on to Tun-huang, where there is a fortified encampment eighty *li* from east to west and forty *li* from north to south.⁷ Having stayed here one month and some days, Fa Hsien and others, five in all, went on ahead in the train of some officials⁸, and where thus once more separated from Pao Yun and his colleagues. The prefect⁹ of Tun-huang gave all necessities for crossing the desert (of Gobi). In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and hot winds. Those who encounter them (the winds) perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing¹⁰ on all sides as

5. The words 慇懃 have been omitted by Mr. Beal.

6. Literary, "became their patron" 檀越.

7. About 26 miles by 13. We may here notify the reader that throughout this translation we shall keep to the Chinese measurements whether in *li*, feet, or inches. It is difficult to determine what was the exact value of either at the time when this volume was written. Julien fixes the *li* at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the English mile, and the foot may possibly have been near about what it is now—a little larger than the English foot.

8. The text has 隨使先發. Rémusat gave, "à la suite de quelques ambassadeurs," and it is difficult to get anything else out of the text as it stands. Mr. Beal has, "made arrangements to set out in advance of the others," which implies that he has changed 隨 into 遂, though he does not say so or even allude to the doubtfulness of the passage. But see Chapter IV, note 1.

9. 太守.

10. Mr. Beal's rendering of the following sentence would be

far as the eye can reach in order to mark the track, it would be impossible to succeed but for the rotting bones of dead men which point the way. After travelling seventeen days, about 1,500 *li*, they arrived at the country of Shan-shan.^{1 1}

CHAPTER II.

This land is rugged and barren. The clothes of the people are coarse, like those of the Chinese, the only difference being that they use felt and serge.¹ The King of the country is a convert² to Buddhism. There may be some 4,000 priests, all belonging to the Lesser Development.³ The religion of India is universal among the people and Shamans⁴ of these⁵ kingdoms: but there are distinctions of refinement and coarseness (in their practice of it). From this point travelling westwards, the nations that one passes through are all the same in this respect, except that the Tartar dialects they speak are rather a hindrance than an aid to the understanding of the text. He has avoided the difficulties of construction by not attempting over correct paraphrase.

11. "At present called the desert of Makhra." *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II.

1. This 禍 is still commonly used in Peking by the working classes. Peking censors are often called 車禍子.

2. Mr. Deal has "well acquainted to" but 奉法 is stronger than that. Cf. 奉教, used in the present day for to enter or become a Christian.

3. "La petite translation rendue par le mot de l'ordre d'extinction." *Résumé*. The Hanyang.

4. Noctes.

5. The word 諸 is a collective particle 國 in this connection with the meaning 'all have been converted'.

not the same. However the Buddhist priests all study Indian books and the Indian spoken language. (Fa Hsien and his companions) having stayed here somewhat more than a month, again travelled north-west for fifteen days and arrived at the country called Wu-i.⁹ The priests of the Wu-i country also number over 4,000, all belonging to the Lesser Development. The religious observances are properly attended to.⁷ When the Shamans of the land of Ch'in⁸ arrive here, they are all unprepared⁵ for the rites of these priests. Fa Hsien having obtained the protection of Fu Hsing-t'ang and Kung-sun¹⁰ remained

6. 徧夷. Rémusat changes 夷 into 胡 "qui a la même valeur," and explains it as the Ourgour country.

7. The text has 法則齊整 which Mr. Beal wrongly joins to the following sentence and translates "When Fah Tshih and Tsai Teh'ang (two Buddhist priests of the land of Thou) arrived at this country, they were unable to conform to some of the customs of the religious community." For the four characters quoted above Rémusat has "Il sent, quant à la loi, exacts et bien réglés," in which he mistakes 則 for a particle. But 法則 is quite as common a term as 稅則. Mr. Beal's rendering is absurd.

8. 秦 China, from the name of "a feudal state which arose with Fei-tsz' 非子 B.C. 897, and gradually extended over the whole of Shen-si and Kansuh, till, in B.C. 221, under the Emperor First 秦始皇帝 it subdued all China, and was called the Ts'in dynasty." *Williams*.

9. Unaccustomed to.

10. This passage has been a stumbling-block to M. Rémusat and Mr. Beal alike; in fact, the latter follows servilely the extraordinary translation of his predecessor. The text runs,—法顯得符行堂公孫經理住二月餘, and out of these characters Mr. Beal sees no difficulty in extracting this result:—"Fa Hsien, therefore, having obtained a pass, proceeded to the palace (hall) of the reigning Prince, Kung Sun, where he remained two months and some days." There is some excuse for Rémusat who only wrote out his translation in the rough and never put the finishing touches; but what is to be urged in deference to Mr. Beal who can calmly hand over such a version to the uninitiated public without even hinting that

two months and some days after which he returned to Pao Yun and the others.¹¹ They all agreed that the people of the Wu-i country did not cultivate politeness or their duty towards their neighbour,¹² and were cold¹³ in their treatment of strangers. Subsequently,¹⁴ Chih Yen, Hui Chien, and Hui Wei went back to Kao-ch'ang in order to obtain necessities for the journey; but Fa Hsien and his party, being provided with these things by Fu and Kung-sun, went on forthwith towards the south-east. The country was uninhabited, and the difficulties of travelling by land and water and the hardships they went through were beyond all comparison. After being on the road a month and five days they arrived at Yu-t'ien.¹⁵

CHAPTER III.

This country is fertile and prosperous. The people are well off and all converts to Buddhism. They play religious music to each other for amusement.¹ The there is a difficulty of any kind. Of the correctness of our own translation there can be no reasonable doubt, and the only stone an adverse critic could possibly cast is one that we shall anticipate him by throwing ourselves. It is rather unusual to give the surname 姓 and name 名 of one of two people (Fu Hsing-t'ang), and only the surname of the other (Kung-sun). But almost in the next line they are spoken of as Fu and Kung-Sun.

11. Who, as Mr. Beal justly supposes, had by this time arrived at the Wu-i country.

12. 義 which Mr. Beal omits as if it were part of 禮.

13. Literally, thin 薄.

14. The whole of this passage differs grammatically speaking from MM. Rémusat and Beal's translations, though the general sense is the same.

15. Khoten. *Rémusat*.

CHAPTER III.

1. M. Rémusat—"c'est la loi qui leur procure la félicité dont

priests number several tens of thousands, - mostly belonging to the Greater Development. They all obtain their food from a common fund.¹ The people live scattered about; and before the door of every house they build small pagodas. The smallest may be about two *chang*² high. They build houses for travelling priests; and entertain all who arrive, giving them anything else they may want. The King of the country lodged Fa Hsien and his companions comfortably in a monastery called Chuan-ti belonging to the Greater Development. At the sound of the gong,³ three thousand priests assemble to eat.

ils jouissent." Mr. Beal:—"take delight in attending to their religious duties." The text:—**以法樂和娛**. The character 樂 is here unquestionably *yo* music, and not *lo* joy. We also venture to think that our own translation is the only one which disposes satisfactorily of 和 "to each other."

2. Mr. Beal translates "ten thousand men," and says he prefers "taking *sho* as a verb." But such a preference is totally uncalled for and inadmissible.

3. "*La grande translation a pour base une theorie abstruse, une ontologie raffinee, le mysticisme le plus exalté.*" *Romusat*. The Mahayana.

4. The text is **皆有衆食**, and it is truly somewhat tempting to copy Mr. Beal and make them all sit down to dinner together. But the sentence means that there is a single fund for the support of all the priests, and that the revenues of the various temples, contributions of subscribers &c. are all thrown into a common stock from which an allowance of so much is made for the keep of each member. This rendering is confirmed later on, where the numbers mentioned are too great to admit of Mr. Beal's translation.

5. **人民星居**. Mr. Beal says "this is a perplexing passage," but the phrase is common enough in ordinary books, novels, and often met with in proclamations. Compare **星羅棋布**.

6. Twenty Chinese feet.

7. **四方僧**. Literally, "priests from the four quarters." Mr. Beal makes this improvement on *Romusat's* "de forme carrée."

8. The text is **三千僧其糒糒食**. Mr. Beal's note says "Kien for Kien-ti, *i. e.* Ghantā or Gong." We have nothing better to offer, and commit this sentence to the ingenuity of our readers.

When they enter the refectory their demeanour is grave and orderly: they sit down in a regular order; they all keep silence; they make no noise with their bowls etc.; and when the attendants serve more food they do not call out to each other but only make signs with their hands.¹⁰ Hui Ching, Tao Cheng, and Hui Ta, started in advance towards the country of Chieh-ch'a, but Fa Hsien and the others wishing to see the procession of the images remained three months and some days. In this country there are fourteen large monasteries without counting the smaller ones. Beginning on the 1st of the 4th moon, they sweep and water the streets inside the city and decorate the principal thoroughfares. Over the city gate they stretch a large awning with all kinds of ornamentation, and there the King and Queen¹¹ and maids-of-honour reside. The priests of the Chu-ma-ti monastery belong to the Greater Development, which¹² is

At the same time we must object to Mr. Deal's idea that the three thousand priests sit down hand to hand. 共 only implies that the *group* was the same.

9. 淨人 has been wrongly rendered by Mr. Deal whose translation is otherwise a considerable improvement on Wylie's absurd rendering. Mr. Deal writes: when they *etc.* the priests require more food there is no chattering one with the other, but etc." Now as we have just been told that "they all keep silence" it would seem unnecessary to repeat the remark in another form. Further 隨 never means *to chatter*. The 淨人 are the novices who wait upon the priests. Their heads are shaved but have not been brushed with three (or more) marks 三戒 that are the mark of an ordained priest, and signify to the public that he has renounced for ever flesh, wine and woman.

10. Mr. Deal wrongly 指 with 手, and translates it "point" instead of with 扃. The text is 但以手指扃.

11. The text is 王及夫人采女. Mr. Deal translates "the king and his concubines" with the attendant's name.

12. Not a proper noun. Mr. Deal's list is a catalogue of grammar.

deeply venerated by the King. They take the first place in the processions. At a distance of three or four *li* from the city a four-wheeled image ear is made, over thirty (Chinese) feet in height, looking like a movable pavilion, and adorned with the seven precious substances,¹³ with streaming pennants and embroidered canopies. The image is placed in the middle of the ear, with two attendants P'u-sas¹⁴ and followed by all the demi-gods. These are beautifully carved in gold and silver, and suspended in the air.¹⁵ When the image is one hundred paces from the city gate, the King takes off his cap of state and puts on new clothes. Then, barefoot, holding flowers and incense in his hand, he proceeds with his attendants out of the gate to meet the image, bows down his head to the ground, scatters the flowers and burns the incense. When the image enters the city, the Queen and maids-of-honour on the top of the gate scatter far and wide¹⁶ all kinds of flowers, which fall in clouds, and thus decorate the implements of worship.¹⁷ The ears are all different; and each monastery has a day for its procession,¹⁸ beginning at the 1st of the 4th moon and lasting to the 14th when the processions terminate

13. Gold, silver, emeralds, crystal, rubies, amber, and agate.

14. Bodhisatvas.

15. The text reads 皆金銀彫瑩懸於虛空. Mr. Beal translates, "all are made of gold and silver, whilst glittering gems are hung suspended in the air." He has put the comma on the wrong side of 瑩.

16. The text is, 遙散衆華. Mr. Beal skips over the puzzling 遙.

17. 如是莊嚴供具. Mr. Beal translates the two middle words as "sumptuously," and either includes therein or omits altogether the two following words 供具.

18. A friend would persuade us to render this passage as if a single procession of images visited the different monasteries in turn.

and the King and Queen go back to their palace. Seven or eight *li* to the west of this city there is a monastery called the Wang-hsin Temple. It took eighty years to build, and the reigns of three Kings before it was completed.¹⁹ It may be two hundred and fifty feet high, and is ornamentally carved and inlaid,²⁰ and covered with gold and silver. All kinds of jewels combine to complete (its magnificence). Behind the tower there is an oratory, decorated most splendidly. The beams, pillars, folding doors, and windows, are all gilt. Besides this there are apartments for the priests, also beautifully ornamented beyond all expression. All the kings of the six countries to the east of the hills make large offerings of whatsoever very valuable jewels they may have, using very few themselves.²¹

CHAPTER IV.

The processions of the fourth moon being over, one of the party, Song Shao, set out with a Tartar Bullhus¹

19. A simple enough specimen of Chinese grammar, but one which Mr. Beal has utterly misunderstood, and rendered, "During the last eighty years three kings have contributed towards its completion. The text has 作來八十年經三王方成. Remusat's translation is correct.

20. We fail to see how Mr. Beal got it. There are many inscribed plates of gold and silver within it out of 彫文刻鏤金銀覆上.

21. Whatever these last four characters 人用者少 may mean, Mr. Beal's rendering "in such abundance that but few of them can be used" is quite out of the question. They seem to us simply to signify that jewels were not much used by the people of that country.

CHAPTER IV

1. 隨胡道人. Remusat.—"A la suite d'un prêtre turbare"

towards Chi-pin.² Fa Hsien and the others went on to the Tzu-ho country where they arrived after a journey of twenty-five days. The king of the country is devoted to (Buddhism).³ There are more than a thousand priests, mostly belonging to the Greater Development. After stopping here fifteen days, the party went south for four days, and entering the Onion range arrived at the country of Yu-hui, where they rested. When their rest was over,⁴ they journeyed twenty-five days and arrived at the country of Chieh-ch'a,⁴ where they rejoined Hui Ching and the others.

CHAPTER V.

The King of this country holds the Pan-chò-yueh-shih. The Pan-chò-yueh-shih is in Chinese a *pre-years-great-assembly*. At the time of the assembly he invites Shamans from all quarters, and they come in vast numbers.¹ The place where the priests sit is adorned beforehand² with streaming pennants and canopies embroidered with lotus-flowers in gold and silver. The backs of the seats are

Beal:—"in company with a fellow-disciple belonging to the country of the Ouigours."

2. "La Cophène ou le pays arrosé par le Cophès." *Rémusat*.

3. The text has 國王精進. Mr. Beal gives "The king of the country, by the determined energy of his character," adding in a note that "this translation is doubtful." We heartily agree with him.

4. Mr. Beal says this must be Katchou.

CHAPTER V.

1. Literally, "in clouds."

2. 已 has been the same force as 預. Mr. Beal joins it on to the last sentence, but it is only fair to suppose that all these arrangements were made before the arrival of the Shamans.

covered with spotless diapery, etc.* The King with all his ministers make their offerings according to rite. It may last for one,² two, or three months, and is generally in the spring. The King, when the assembly is over, further bids all his ministers arrange offerings for presentation,³ which may last one, two, three, or five days. When all the offerings have been made, the King takes his own horse, saddle, and bridle, with those ridden by his prime minister and high officials;† also much white cloth and all kinds of jewels, such as the Shamans require, and together with his ministers vows to give these things as alms (to the Shamans.) When they have been thus given as alms, they are redeemed from the priests with money. This country is mountainous and cold. With the exception of wheat no grain will grow and ripen. When the priests have "gathered in their harvest" (or,

3. Mr. Beal's translation of the last two sentences is—"They then proceed to decorate the priests' vestments with golden flags and ear caps. In the midst they are to be girded with a band with gold and silver bells fixed to it, and I have a feeling as if the seats for the priests." The text reads thus—**巴莊殿衆僧坐處懸繪檐蓋作金銀蓮華著給座後鋪淨坐具**. It is a very difficult passage.

4. Mr. Beal follows Klaproth and makes **一月** the first month of the year. This translation is unquestionably wrong.

5. A sacred ceremony in which the King takes no part.

6. A most unsatisfactory passage, of which we do not profess to have found the translation, but only a guess at the meaning. Mr. Beal, however, trips lightly through it as usual, without heeding at its obscurity. We gladly transfer it to the ingenious reader.

王以所乘馬鞍勒自副使國中貴重臣贈之
× × × 發願布施

7. We quote Mr. Beal's translation, which is I believe correct, having nothing better to offer, but we cannot help objecting to it. The text reads **衆僧受歲已**, **× × 歲** (i. e. **年**), but **受** does not mean **to receive**, **收** (i. e. **上平聲**) is to **gather in** (harvest).

"received their dues,") the mornings forthwith become frosty.⁸ Therefore the King regularly begs the priests to make the wheat ripen before they collect their harvest. In this country there is a spittoon that belonged to Buddha, made of stone and of the same colour as Buddha's alms-bowl. There is also one of Buddha's teeth, and in honour⁹ of this tooth the people of the country have built a pagoda. There are more than one thousand priests, all belonging to the Lesser Development. From the hills eastward the people wear coarse clothes like the Chinese, but also¹⁰ differing in their use of felt and serge. The rites and ceremonies of the Shamans are varied, and too numerous to mention. This country is in the middle of the Onion range, and from this point onwards all plants, trees, and fruits, are different from those of China, with the exception of the bamboo, guava,¹¹ and sugar-cane.

CHAPTER VI.

From this point travelling westwards towards North India, the pilgrims after a journey of one month succeeded in crossing the Onion range. On the Onion range there is snow winter and summer alike. There are also venomous dragons, which, if provoked,¹ spit forth poison-

8. 其晨輒霜. Mr. Beal.—"the weather becomes cloudy and overcast."

9. 爲, which Mr. Beal translates "over" (the tooth).

10. That this, as in Chapter 2.

11. Mr. Beal says "pomegranate," but the text gives 安石榴 which we believe to be the guava.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Mr. Beal has thus happily rendered 若失其意; but he

ed winds, rain, snow, sand-storms, and stones. Of those who encounter these dangers not one in ten thousand escapes. The people of that country are called "men of "Snowy Hills." Having passed these mountains, they arrived in North India. Just at the frontier, there is a small nation called T'o-li, which also has priests, all of the Lesser Development. In this country there was formerly a Lo-han,² who using the power of transportation, carried a clever artisan up to the Tou-shu Heaven³ to observe the length, breadth, colour and features of the Mito⁴ P'u-sa, that when he returned he might carve an image of him in wood. Altogether he made three journeys of observation, and afterwards completed an image eighty feet in length, the foot⁵ of which is eight feet long. On fast-days it always shines with a brilliant light. The kings of these countries vie with each other in making offerings to it. It has been for a long time in this country.

CHAPTER VII.

Along the mountains, in a south-westerly direction, they journeyed for fifteen days, over a difficult, precipitous, and very dangerous road.¹ The mountains are has made a terrible muddle of the next sentence by putting a full stop at 毒 poison and making the wind, rain, etc., a separate affair from the dragons.

2. An *Arhan* or saint. The eighteen Lo-han were Buddha's personal disciples.

3. "The Tushta Heavens" (*Real*).

4. Mani-ya-Bodhisatva, the "Laughing² 1" of Chinese temples, and the "expected" Buddha.

5. The text has 足趺八尺. 足 趺 which usually means "to sit cross-leggedly," we can do without any explanation.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Mr. Paul has quite mistaken the meaning of this passage.

like a stone wall 1,000 *mu*² in height. Coming near the edge, the sight gets confused; and wishing to advance, the foot finds no resting-place.² Below there is a river by name Hsin-t'ou. The men of former times cut away the rock to form a path, making a ladder of the side of the rock, seven hundred steps in all. Having got down the ladder, the river is crossed by a bridge of ropes. The two banks of the river by are somewhat less than eighty paces apart. According to the Chiu-yi,³ neither Chang Ch'ien nor Kan Ying of the Han dynasty reached this point. The priests asked Fa Hsien if he knew when Buddhism first went eastwards. Fa Hsien replied, "When I asked the people of those parts they all said that according to an old tradition Shamans from India began to bring the Aphorisms and Disciplines across this river from the date of putting up the image of Maitreya Bodhisatva." This image was put up about three hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha, which corresponds with the reign of P'ing-wang⁴ of the Chen dynasty, and from this date it was said that the Great Teaching began to be spread abroad at the setting up of the image. That

其道艱阻崖岸險絕. He translates it, "The road is difficult and fatiguing. Steep crags and precipices constantly intercept the way." We do not see whence he gets all this. We make of it 1 demonstrative pronoun, 1 substantive, 2 dis-syllabic adjectives, 1 monosyllabic ditto, and one adverb.

2. A *jen* is about 10 feet.

3. Mr. Beal adds,—“and you are lost,”—from his own inner consciousness.

4. 九驛所記. Rému-at suggests 譯, and Klaproth a stop at 所, i. e. “nine fords.” But there was a work called the 九洲驛郵記 on which was based the 廣輿記 to which this passage evidently refers. It is a topographical description of the Empire.

5. 770—710 B.C.

but for the transmission of Sakya's doctrines by the mighty Maitreya, none could have caused the Three Precious Ones to be preached abroad and foreigners⁷ to become acquainted with the faith. That the revelation of these mysteries was clearly not the work of man, and that thus the dream of Ming-ti of the Han dynasty was not without foundation.⁸

CHAPTER VIII.

Crossing the river, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Wu-chiang. This country is due north of India. The language of Central India is universally used. Central India is the same as the Middle Kingdom. The clothes and food of the people are also like those of the Middle Kingdom. The religion of Buddha is very flourishing.¹ The places where the priests live permanently are called Sengchia-lan. There are altogether five hundred of them, all belonging to the Lesser Development. If any wandering mendicants² arrive, they will take charge of all³ of

6. The Buddhist Trinity of Buddha, Law, and the Church.

7. 邊人, translated by Mr. Beal "men on the out-skirts of the world."

8. "This is all clearly what it was said." Mr. Beal's translation of the concluding sentence appears to us rather mixed 固知冥運之闡本非人事則漢明之夢有由而然矣. "We may conclude therefore, with certainty, that the origin of the diffusion of the law of Buddha was no human work but sprang from the same cause as the dream of Ming-ti."

This dream was supposed to refer to Buddhism, and led to an expedition to bring back the sacred books.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Mr. Beal evidently puts a stop before 名; we, after it, 盛名 being a common phrase.

2. A Lohan, or Lik-hai.

3. The 悉 is difficult to refer to; the phrase as Mr. Beal gives it.

them for three days, after which they bid them shift for themselves. Tradition says when Buddha came to Northern India he visited this country. Buddha left a foot-print here which appears large or small according to the faith of each particular person. It exists to this day. Also the stone he dried his clothes upon, and the place where he converted the wicked dragon, are still to be seen. The stone is fourteen feet high by more than twenty feet in breadth. One side of it is smooth. Hui-ching, Tao-cheng, and Hui-ta, went on ahead towards Buddha's shadow in the country of Na-chieh.² Fa Hsien and the others remained in this country (Wu-ch'ang) for the rainy season. When it was over they went south till they arrived at the country of Su-lo-to.

CHAPTER IX.

In this country Buddhism is also popular. Of old, the heavenly Indra Shakra, in order to try the Bodhisatva,¹ changed himself into a kite and a dove.² (The Bodhisatva) cut off a piece of his flesh to ransom the dove, and on the spot perfected his intelligence as a Buddha.³ Subse-

4. The text has 石高丈四闊二丈許. Mr. Beal says,—“The stone is about 12 feet high and 24 feet square.”

5. Nagarāhāra. *Résumé*.

CHAPTER IX.

1. That is, Buddha in an earlier stage.

2. Mr. Beal translates 化作 as “caused the appearance of (a hawk &c.)” Either will do. In this particular case, his is perhaps the better.

3. The passage is worth quoting:—割肉貿鴿處佛即成道與諸子弟遊行語云. Mr. Beal translates it,—“On which, Bodhisatwa, tearing his own flesh, gave it in substitu-

quently, when wandering with his disciples, he said, "This is the very spot where I cut off my flesh to ransom the dove." Thus the people of the country came to know, and erected at the place a pagoda adorned with gold and silver.

CHAPTER X.

From this point descending eastwards for five days, they arrived at the country of Chien-t'o-wei, which was governed by Fa Yi the son of King A Yu.¹ When Buddha was a Bodhisatva he also sacrificed his eyes for a fellow-creature, and on that spot too a pagoda has been built adorned with gold and silver. The inhabitants of this country belong principally to the Lesser Development.²

CHAPTER XI.

From this point travelling eastwards for seven days there is a country called Chu-ch'a-shih-lo, which in Chinese means "to cut off the head."³ When Buddha was

 mon for that of the bird. When Buddha had arrived at complete wisdom, he passed by this place with his disciples, on which he spake to them thus: "That is to say he puts a full stop a 鵠, leaves out 處 altogether, and begins a new paragraph at 佛.

CHAPTER X.

1. Asoka.
2. This last sentence has been inadvertently left out by Mr. Beal.

CHAPTER XI.

1. We cannot pass over this literal translation of 截頭 without mentioning that these words have a common metaphorical meaning of "to enter the priesthood," taken from the custom of confining the hair with a metal ring called a 箍. A very usual phrase is 幾時截頭—*When do you become a Priest?* Priests

a Bodhisatva he sacrificed his head for a fellow-creature. Hence the name. Again travelling eastwards for two days the pilgrims arrived at the place where he gave his body to feed a hungry tiger. In these two places there are also great pagodas, adorned with all kinds of precious stones. The Kings, Ministers, and people of all the neighbouring countries vie with each other in making offerings, in scattering flowers and lighting lamps² without intermission. Together with the above-mentioned two pagodas, the people of the district call these the Four Great Pagodas.

CHAPTER XII.

From the Chien-t'o-wei country travelling southwards two days, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Fo-lou-sha. Formerly, Buddha visiting this nation in company with all his disciples, said to A-nan, "After my Nirvana, "a king of this country, by name Chi-ni-chia," will build "a pagoda on this spot." Subsequently, when Chi-ni-chia came into the world and was making a tour of inspection,² the heavenly Indra Shakra, wishing to originate in him the idea, changed himself into a shepherd boy building a pagoda in the road. The king asked

who do not shave the head and wear these metal (often gold) rings to confine the hair, are called Lo-haus. (Arhaus). But even ordinary priests with shaven heads frequently wear them. Vide *Shun-pao* of 13th September 1876, under the heading 惡僧敗露 where we have 首戴銅箍.

2. Mr. Beal translates 然燈 by "burning incense."

CHAPTER XII.

1. Kanishka.

2. We have borrowed this rendering from Mr Beal. The text has 出行遊觀. 時 Rémusat gives " * * se mit à voyager. Et comme il parcourait ce pays * * "

the boy, saying, "What are you doing?" He replied "I am making a pagoda for Buddha." The king said "Very good," and at once built a pagoda over the boy's more than 400 feet high, and adorned with all kinds of precious stones. Of all the pagodas and temples the pilgrims saw, not one could be compared with this for solidity and beauty.³ Tradition says that of the pagodas of Ko-fu-ti⁴ this is the highest. When the king had completed this pagoda, the small pagoda issued from the south side of the great pagoda, over three feet in height. Buddha's alms-bowl is in this country, and formerly a king of the Yueh-shih got together a large army to attack this country, wishing to carry it off. When he had subdued the country, being an ardent supporter of Buddhism, he wanted to take the bowl away with him; and accordingly, having first made offerings to the Three Precious Ones, he decorated a large elephant and put the bowl on its back. The elephant then fell down and was unable to move. Then a four-wheeled cart was made, and the bowl being put in it, eight elephants were harnessed to draw it. When again they were unable to move, the King knew that its time had not yet come,⁵ and was full of shame

3. Mr. Beal is here guilty of a very serious mistranslation. Following in Réusat's foot-steps, he renders this passage, "all who passed by and saw the exquisite beauty and graceful proportions of the tower and the temple attached to it, exclaimed in delight, 'these are incomparable for beauty.' The text is 凡所經見塔廟壯麗威嚴都無此比.

4. "Jambudwipa, the continent to the south of Mount Sumeru, which according to Chinese Buddhists includes both India and China." Beal.

5. Mr. Beal says "that the destiny of the alms-bowl on that land being was not complete. 王知與鉢緣未至:

and regret. Therefore he built a pagoda on that spot, and also a monastery, leaving a garrison⁶ to guard the bowl, and making all kinds of offerings. There may be about 700 priests. When it is near midday, the priests bring out the bowl, and together with the people make all kinds of offerings. They then eat their midday meal;⁷ and in the evening, at the time of burning incense, they bring it out again. It might hold over two gallons, and is of several colours, chiefly black. The four joinings are clearly distinguishable.⁸ It is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch⁹ thick, and is transparent¹⁰ and bright. Poor people throw a few flowers in, and it is full; but very rich people, wishing to make offering of a large quantity of flowers, (may throw in), a hundred, thousand, or ten thousand bushels without filling it. Pao Yau and Seng Ching merely made their offerings to the bowl and went back. Hui Ching, Hui Ta and Tao Cheng, had previously gone on to the country of Na-chieh to worship Buddha's shadow, tooth, and skull-bone. Hui Ching fell ill, and Tao Cheng remained to nurse him. Hui Ta came

literally,—“the king knew that his (re)connection with the bowl (and the bowl's) connection (with him) had not arrived.”

6. Mr. Beal translates 并留鎮守 by “delayed his own departure, and remained to guard the relic.”

7. This and the following sentence have been wrongly rendered by Mr. Beal:—“So again, after the midday meal, as evening approaches, at the time of burning incense (i. e. evening service), they do likewise.”—an unpardonable translation of 然後中食至暮燒香時復爾.

8. Being originally four bowls made into one by a fiat of Buddha. Mr. Beal gives “The seams where the four parts join together are bright.” 四際分明. (The italics may well be ours.)

9. The text has 二分. Mr. Beal says “two inches.”

10. Surely this is meant by 徹. Mr. Beal gives “polished.”

back alone to the Fo-lou-sha country where he met (the others), and then Hui Ta, Pao Yun, and Seng Ching, returned to China. Hui Ching fulfilled his destiny¹¹ at the temple of Buddha's bowl and died. Thus, Fa Hsien went on alone to the place of Buddha's skull-bone.

CHAPTER XIII.

Travelling westwards 16 *yu-jen*,¹ the pilgrims arrived at the frontier of the Na-chieh country. In the city of H-i-lo there is the shrine² of Buddha's skull-bone. It is entirely covered with gold and the seven precious stones. The king of the country deeply venerates this skull-bone, and fearing lest it should be stolen,³ has appointed eight men of the leading families in the kingdom, who have each a seal to seal it up and guard it. In the morning, when the eight have all arrived, each inspects his own

11. The text reads,— 景應在佛鉢寺無常山. Mr. Beal translates, "Meanwhile Hwei King having set out for the temple of Buddha's alms bowl, after his arrival, died there." His note says "The whole of this passage is obscure, and if it were not for some allusion to the work, would be untranslatable. I have regarded the expression 'won-sheng' (無常) as equivalent to 'died,' for it is used in this sense in the 20th chapter, and for the word 'shan' 'a mountain,' which has no sense or meaning at all in the connection of the text, I have substituted 'ja' (如) thus forming the well-known phrase 'ja-shi' 'accordingly.'" The emendation of 如 for 山 seems excellent, but Mr. Beal has taken no notice of 應 which should here be read in the 去聲. Rénansat gives, "Hwei king se plaisait extraordinairement dans le temple du pot de Foï."

CHAPTER XIII.

1. 由延, or *yü-jan*. Varies from 5 to 9 English miles.
2. 精舍, or *Vihāra*.
3. Mr. Beal has in his translation "and substitute another in its place." But the text gives only 抄奪.

scal, and then they open the door. When the door is open they wash their hands in scented water and bring out Buddha's skull-bone, placing it on an altar outside the shrine, and using a round block of the seven precious substances to support it underneath, and a glass bell to cover it;⁴ all these being richly studded with pearls and precious stones. The bone is of a yellowish white colour, 4 inches in diameter,⁵ and raised in the middle. Every day, after the relic has been brought out, the one in charge of the shrine mount up to a high tower, beat a large drum, blow the conch, and clash the cymbals. When the king hears this, he proceeds to the shrine and makes offerings of flowers and incense. The offerings made, every one bows⁶ in his proper turn and departs. Entering by the east and leaving by the west gate, the king every morning makes offerings and worships in this manner, and then transacts affairs of State. The scholars and elders also

4. Mr. Beal's translation gives, "On this floor there is a circular table composed of seven precious substances, with a crystal bell-shaped cupola on the top." We cannot contribute here upon this effort. The text reads 以七寶圓碁碁下琉璃鍾覆上. With our translation of the second 碁, may be compared the phrase 以枕枕之.

5. Mr. Beal gives "about four inches square." The text has 方圓四寸 which seems to mean that taken either squarewise or roundwise the skull was 4 inches across. Mr. Beal's note says "*fang-an* may mean either a circle or square; but the meaning here is evidently 4 inches each side."

6. The text has 次第頂戴而去. Mr. Beal says "he (the king) repeatedly bows his head to the ground in adoration and departs." It was something to get rid of *kōmmei* of the absurd notion of "carrying the relic to his head;" but Mr. Beal's interpretation of 次第 is quite erroneous, and his emendation of "tung-tai" for 次第 is as uncalled-for as it is (to us) incomprehensible. 頂戴 is a common Buddhist phrase for an obeisance, not a *hōto* on the knees, but a profound bow until the head almost touches the ground, the hands being raised to the forehead.

first make offerings and then attend to their domestic business. Every day it is the same; there is never any remissness,⁷ and when all the offerings are finished, the skull-bone is put back in the shrine. In the shrine there is a "liberation" pagoda⁸ made of the seven precious substances, which is sometimes open and sometimes shut,⁹ and over 5 feet in height. In order to fill it, there are regularly every morning before the gate of the shrine sellers of flowers and incense, so that all who want to make offerings may buy what they require. The kings of these countries also regularly send officers to make offerings. The place of the shrine is 40 paces square. Though heaven should quake and earth gap, this spot would not move. From this point travelling north one

7. The text reads 日日如是初無懈憊 and Mr. Beal translates it, "this, in fact, is the first and untiring duty of every day," without making the slightest comment and leaving us to infer that he can make a guess at its meaning. For 初 in this passage cannot be first, and the opposite ideas of repose and energy expressed by the two words 懈 and 憊 is entirely lost out of the question. To illustrate our own case, if you have been obliged to substitute 倦, which is often read joined with 懈, and then the reading is simply changed to 初無, a common enough phrase and gives somewhat the force of 始終 to the sentence. But for those who object to any manipulation of the text we have still an alternative. Put a stop after 初, and translate, "Every day begins thus, there are no relaxation of negligence and zeal,"—that is, all go through exactly the same amount of religious ceremony per diem. Lohmützel says, "Il en est ainsi tous les jours, et ce produit devoir n'a aucune différence de zèle ou de relâchement." Whatever the real meaning may be, our readers have the thing now in their own hands.

8. 七宝解脫塔, which Mr. Beal strangely enough asserts "must be translated 'Seven Proboscis etc."

9. 或開或閉. Mr. Beal says "partly solid and partly hollow." *Bhikkhū* makes a number of others but all variable. * * * les uns certains, les autres formées.

yu-yen, the pilgrims arrived at the capital of Na-chieh, where the Bodhisatva bought some five-stalked flowers for an offering to Tung Kuang¹⁰ Buddha. In this city there is also a Buddha's-tooth pagoda; the ceremonies of worship are the same as for the skull-bone. One *yu-yen* to the north-east brought them to the mouth of a valley where there is Buddha's pewter staff, and a shrine in which it is worshipped. The staff is made of "bull's head"¹¹ sandal-wood, and is about 16 or 17 feet in length. It is in a wooden sheath, from which one hundred or even one thousand men would fail to move it. Traveling westwards for four days through this valley, there is a shrine for worshipping Buddha's *saq-chia-h*.¹² When there is an excessive drought in this country the people and officials,¹³ gathering together, bring out the garment and worshipping make offerings to it. Rain immediately falls in abundance. Half a *yu-yen* to the south of the city there is a cave. It is at the south-west of the Po¹⁴ mountain. Buddha left his shadow in it. Looking at it from a distance of ten or more paces, it is a life-size silhouette of Buddha, of a golden colour, like in features,¹⁵ bright and shining. The nearer one goes, the more indistinct

10. Dipankara. *Beal*.

11. Gosirchandana. *Beal*—who omits the word 錫 *pewter* in the last sentence, and thus avoids an apparent anomaly.

12. The long robe or Sanghati worn by all priests.

13. 府國人. Mr. Beal says "the chief personages of the kingdom;" Remusat, "les habitants."

14. 博山. Mr. Beal says "a large mountain;" Remusat, "une montagne."

15. 相好. Mr. Beal says "with all its characteristic signs," which is a servile acceptance of Remusat's rendering, both given without note or comment as if there was no difficulty whatever. We, personally, barely profess to understand these two words and leave them in our readers' hands.

it gets, still appearing to be there.¹⁶ The Kings of all the neighbouring countries have sent skilful artists to sketch it, but they have not been able to do so. The people of the country have a tradition that the thousand Buddhas¹⁷ will all leave their shadows here. About a hundred paces to the west of the shadow, Buddha, when alive, shaved his head and cut his nails, and with the help of his disciples built a pagoda seventy to eighty feet in height, as a model for pagodas in future. It exists to this day, and by its side there is a temple in which there are seven hundred priests. In this place there is a pagoda in honour of all the Lo-hans and P'i-chih¹⁸ Buddhas, of whom nearly¹⁹ a thousand have dwelt here.

CHAPTER XIV.

In the second winter moon,¹ Fa Hsien and his companions, three in all, going south crossed the Little Snowy Mountains. These mountains retain² the snow

16. Of the meaning of this passage we hold there can be no doubt of any kind, grammatical or otherwise, and we must stigmatise Mr. Beal's version as faulty in the extreme. The text has 轉近轉微 髣髴如有. Mr. Beal gives, "On turning away or going nearer, the resemblance to the reality becomes less and less distinct." Now without noticing his mistranslation of 轉 or his wholesale omission of the last four characters, we would point out that it is not the "resemblance" which gradually becomes less distinct, but the whole shadow that loses its intensity.

17. Mr. Beal adds "of the present Kalpa."

18. Pratoeka Buddhas.

19. 千數. Mr. Beal says "as many as a thousand;" Rémusat "mille."

CHAPTER XIV.

1. That is the 11th moon, winter being reckoned to begin from the 10th moon.

2. 積 Mr. Beal, copying Rémusat, makes it snow there both

summer and winter alike. On the northern side, which is in the shade, it is frightfully cold, and when the wind gets up it makes one shiver and keep the mouth shut.³ Hui-ching was unable to advance farther; he foamed at the mouth, and said to Fa Hsien, "I cannot recover; you had better go on while you can, or we shall all perish." Fa Hsien⁴ throwing himself over (the corpse) cried out in lamentation, "The original design cannot be carried out. It is destiny." There being no help for it, they once more exerted themselves, and having got across to the south of the range, arrived at the Lo-i⁵ country.

summer and winter. The text means that the snow never melts.

3. Mr. Beal gives a marvellous translation of this passage:—"The exceeding cold which came on suddenly in crossing the northern slope of the mountain, which lies in the shade, caused the men generally to remain perfectly silent (to shut their mouths) through fear." The text reads thus:—**山北陰中過寒暴起人皆噤戰**. Remusat merely shirks it, giving a general idea of the cold. We have understood **風** with **暴** as the best solution of the difficulty.

4. The following difficult passage Mr. Beal quietly translates in his own way without a hint as to its obscurity. This is what he makes of it:—Fa Hsin cherished him (to supply warmth) and piteously invoked him by his familiar name, but it was all ineffectual to restore life. Submitting therefore to his destiny, he once more gathered up his strength and pressed forward." The text reads, **法顯撫之悲號本圖不果命也奈何復自力前**. That Mr. Beal should not know the common phrase **撫尸** lit. to soothe a corpse, is remarkable; that he should invent supplies "of warmth," and Hui-ching's "familiar name" without breathing a word about the forced nature of his interpretations is unfair to the general reader; and that he should translate **本圖不可命也** as "it was all ineffectual to restore him to life" makes his position as translator of an obscurely-worded Chinese took somewhat difficult to understand. We offer our own translation with the utmost deference to the judgment of any one who will show where we have erred and point out a more likely rendering. Hui Ching is a misprint for Hui Ying. See Note by Hu Chên-hêng at the end of the translation.

5. Afghanistan. Beal.

In that district there are three thousand priests, all belonging to the Greater Development. Here they passed the rainy season, and when it was over they proceeded southwards for ten days and arrived at the country of Po-na,⁶ where there are also over three thousand priests, all belonging to the Lesser Development. From this point travelling on for three days, they again crossed the Hsin-t'ou river, on both banks of which the land is flat.

CHAPTER XV.

On the other side of the river there is a country called Pi-t'u,¹ where Buddhism is very flourishing, both of the Greater and Lesser Developments. When the people of the country saw Buddhist priests from China coming among them, they were much affected and said, "How is it possible for foreigners to have learnt the principle of family renunciation, and to seek after the religion?" They all gave the pilgrims whatsoever they wanted, and treated them according to the law (of Buddha.)

CHAPTER XVI.

From this point travelling south-east for somewhat less than eighty *mu-yeu*, the pilgrims passed many temples containing nearly 10,000 priests. Having passed by all these places, they arrived at a country by name Mo-t'ou-

6. Mr. Beal says this name "has been identified with Bannu."

CHAPTER XV.

1. Mr. Beal gives two possible identifications of this place which he calls Pi-cha. The text, however, has 毗茶 Pi-t'u, and if this is correct, Mr. Beal's speculations are scattered to the winds.

lou,¹ and also² crossed the Pu-na, on the banks of which there are twenty monasteries with some 3,000 priests. Buddhism is gradually³ becoming popular. In all the countries of India to the west of the Sha⁴ river, the Kings have everyone firm faith in the religion of Buddha. When they make offerings to the priests, they take off their caps of state; and then all the members of the royal family with the Ministers of state feed the priests with their own hands.⁵ After this, they spread a carpet on the ground and sit down before them, opposite the principal seat. Sitting in the presence of priests they dare not use a couch. The rites and ceremonies of worship in vogue

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Mathôura. *Beal*.

2. Mr. Beal translates, "Here, again, we followed the course of the river Po-na (Jumna). The force of 'again' seems to be that they had followed previously the course of the Indus." Mr. Beal is not usually so particular about the meaning of every word. The text has 又經埔那河, the first character of which does not mean "again" in Mr. Beal's sense.

3. Mr. Beal translates 佛法轉盛 by "The Law of Buddha is in a reviving condition." Both renderings seem admissible.

4. The text of this passage is 凡沙河巴西天竺諸國國王皆篤信佛法. To begin with, 已 is here used for 以. Mr. Beal translates, "all the kingdoms beyond the sandy deserts are spoken of as belonging to western India." We fail to see how he arrives at this. In a note he adds, "The passage may also be translated thus, 'The continuation of sandy deserts being passed (we arrived at) the various kingdoms of western India.'" — which to our mind is still more difficult to identify with the original. The only point is the second 國 which after all is no great obstacle. It is not unusual to meet 輪船船主. As for 沙河 it seems to be the name of a river and not "sandy deserts."

5. Mr. Beal indulges in "conduct the priests to their several palaces, for the purpose of providing them with food," and all that out of 手自行食. We look on this as an unpardonable vagary, given without note or comment of any kind.

amongst all these Kings while Buddha was still alive have been handed down by tradition to this day. To the south of this is a country called the Shih-lo K'uei-m, the climate of which is temperate without frost or snow, the people well off and happy without registration or official restrictions.⁶ Only those who till the King's land pay in so much. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The King's law administration uses no tortures; criminals are merely flogged according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The King's body-guard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine, or eats onion, or garlic; but they keep their Chan-ch'ia⁷-los apart. Chan-ch'ia-lo is the name for a leper.⁸ They live away from other people, and when they approach a city or market they bear a piece of wood to distinguish themselves. They never know who they are and travel conding in coats of white cloth. In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, nor do they do dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or dairies in their

6. Mr. Beal says "none in so Buddha's P'ien-t'ien add it soon." The text has 無戶籍官法. It is possible that Mr. Beal could think 戶 meant a "Buddha" in this passage?

7. We are sure Mr. Beal has given a wrong turn to this passage, but it is too long and not important enough to quote.

8. In the text 茶. If necessary to be read as tea in the following text, we must read 茶. Mr. Beal says "with the exception of the Chan-ch'ia⁷-los, they eat neither garlic or onions." The text has 不食葱蒜唯除旃茶羅.

9. The text has 名爲惡人, and a comment meaning of 惡人 in Chinese as evidence for entering the La-Hsueh-t'ien, Mr. Beal merely saying I cannot, it is not at all clear to me, and says in a note "The Chan-ch'ia⁷-los is a word out of Indian society, those who had no caste, the lowest of mortals."

market-places. As a medium of exchange they use cowrie shells. Only the Chan-ch'a-los go hunting and deal in flesh. From the date of Buddha's Nirvana, the Kings, elders, and gentry of all these countries built shrines for making offerings to the priests, and gave them land, houses, gardens, etc., and men and bullocks (to cultivate them.) The title-deeds¹⁰ were written out, and subsequent Kings handed them down one to another, not daring to destroy¹¹ them, in unbroken succession to this day. Houses for the priests to live in,¹² beds, mattresses, food, and clothes, are never wanting wherever they may go. The priests usually occupy¹³ themselves in benevolent ministrations, in chanting the Ching, or sitting in meditation. If a stranger priest arrives, the old resident priests go out to meet him and carry his clothes and bowl. They give him water for washing his feet and oil for anointing them,¹⁴ with an extra meal.¹⁵ By and by when the mas

10. The text gives 鐵券書錄. Rémusat says, "L'acte de ces donations était tracé sur le fer" and adds in his note "Ces donations étaient gravées sur des plaques de cuivre ou d'autre métal." Mr. Beal translates "engraved on sheets of copper," without saying anything more about it. From a slight acquaintance with the 二史, where the phrase 鐵券 often occurs, we had been taught to regard 鐵 merely as giving a sense of "validity" to the 券, and not as expressive of the substance on which they written.

11. 無敢廢者. Mr. Beal says "so that no one has dared to deprive them of possession."

12. 衆僧住止房舍. Mr. Beal says "All the resident priests have chambers, etc." He also translates 褥 as "coverlets" instead of "mattresses."

13. The expression 爲業 may (but does not necessarily) imply that the priests gain money thereby.

14. Mr. Beal is here guilty of an egregious blunder. The text is as plain as possible. 給洗足水塗足油. Yet Mr. Beal goes out of his way to find the following translation:—"They then present him with water to wash his feet and cleanse them from the

rested they ask him his age¹⁶ and place¹⁷ in the priesthood, and give him a room with sleeping appliances, all according to regulation. In places where the priests reside they build pagodas to She-li-fo, to Mu-lien, and Anan;¹⁸ also towers in honour of the A-pi-t'an, Lu, and Ching.¹⁹ When they have settled down a month or so, all the families which belong to the religion²⁰ organise a subscription and make offerings to the priests. They arrange an extra meal at which the priests assemble and expound the Law of Buddha. When this is over they make offerings at the pagoda of She-li-fo of all kinds of incense and flowers; they keep lamps burning all night,

mire," adding in a note, "I do not think there is any allusion to oil here, as Rémusat supposes. I take 'tshu-yu' to signify any pollution of the feet, whether dirt, or the heat of travel." Thus Mr. Beal writes himself down as utterly ignorant of the rhythm of Chinese composition. Rémusat's mistakes, overwhelming as they are in number, do not embrace such simple passages as this.

15. That is a meal taken at other than the usual time allowed by Buddhist regulations. The text has 非時漿, and we have taken our rendering direct from Rémusat who says "une collation extraordinaire," and gives a long note in support of his translation. He acknowledges, however, that the same expression "semble plus difficile à expliquer" in a subsequent passage. We leave it to our readers.

16. That is, how many 臘月, or Decembers, he has seen.

17. A priest's 次第 is not easy to translate into English. It is his number among the 徒弟 or disciples of the old priest who as a spiritual father introduced him to religious life. *In answering the question it is usual to give the old priest's name, and the date of entry into the church. Mr. Beal gives "they ask him his age, according to which they allot him a chamber, etc." Rémusat is not so bad as that:—"ils s'informeront du nombre et de l'ordre des sacrifices qu'ils avaient à pratiquer."

18. Saiputra, Mogalan, and Ananda.

19. The Abhidharma, the Disciplines, and the Sutras.

20. Literally, "those who long for happiness." 希福.

and cause those people to join in the worship.²¹ She-li-fu was originally a Brahman. Once meeting Buddha, he begged to enter the priesthood. So did the great Ma-lien and the great Chia-yeh.²² The great majority of female mendicants make offerings at the pagoda of A-nan, because it was A-nan who begged Buddha to allow women to enter the priesthood, and therefore²³ the novices chiefly make offering to Lo-yun. Teachers of the A-pi-t'an worship the A-pi-t'an; teachers of the Disciplines worship the Disciplines. The time for worshipping is once a year: each have their own day. The Ma-ho-yen²⁴ school worships the Pan-ja-po-lo-mi. Wen-shu-shih-li, Kuan-shih-yin²⁵ and others. When the priests have gathered in their harvest,²⁶ the elders, gentry and Brahmaans, all bring various things such as clothes etc. of which the Shramans stand in need, and present them to the priests, who also make presents to each other. Since the Nirvana of Buddha these rules of dignified etiquette for the guidance of the holy brotherhood have been handed down without interruption. From the ford over the Hsin-tou river to Southern India, down to the southern sea, it is between 40,000 to 50,000 *li*. The country is all

21. To me it is fairly puzzled with these four words 使彼人作 "qui se le fait, ce qui se fait, mais qui est consistant avec les deux autres." Mr. Beal says "throughout the whole night the lamps burn provided by these men for the purpose." We think 彼人 must refer to 希福, but fail to see a satisfactory solution.

22. Kasyapa, *ib. id.*

23. The text 故諸沙彌多供養羅云. Mr. Beal says "The Sramana is principally about the worship of Râhula."

24. Mahâraja, or Greater Development.

25. Pratyakṣa, Manjush, and Avalokiteśvara. *Idemut.*

26. See Chapter 5, Note 7.

level. There are no big mountain streams, but only small rivers.²⁷

CHAPTER XVII.

From this point travelling south-east eighteen *yu-yen* there is a country called Sêng-chia-shih.¹ It was there that Buddha descended after having been three months in the Tao-li² Heaven preaching the Law for the benefit of his mother. When he went up to the Tao-li Heaven, he used his supernatural power and did not let any of his disciples know. Seven days before the time had expired he cast aside his invisibility. Then A-na-lu³ with his divine eye saw the world-honoured One afar off, and said to the venerable Mu-lien, "You can go and salute the "world-honoured One." Mu-lien therefore went, and prostrating himself at Buddha's feet, they saluted each other.⁴ When the salutations were over, Buddha said, "Mu-lien, after seven days I shall descend to Yen-fu-t'i." Mu-lien then returned, and at the appointed time the

27. Mr. Beal gives "There are no great mountains or valleys, but still there are rivers," and justifies himself for this rendering by quoting Julien. The text has 無大山川正有河水, and it seems to us there is a direct antithesis between 河水 and 山川. We construe 正 in the unusual but not unknown sense of the disjunctive 只.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The modern Sankisa. *Beal*.
2. "The Triyashttrinshas heaven." *Beal*.
3. Anuruddha. A Lo-han and cousin to Buddha.
4. Mr. Beal says "prostrated himself in adoration of the marks on the foot of Buddha"—which may or may not be correct—and utterly ignores the next four words, we fear, wilfully, not knowing what to make of them. The text has 頭面禮足其相問訊.

rulers of the eight kingdoms, withall the officers and people, not having seen Buddha for a long time and being very desirous of gazing upon him, collected like clouds in this country to wait for the world-honoured One. Then the female mendicant Yu-po-lo communed with her own heart. "To-day Kings, Ministers, and people, should all "go out to meet Buddha. I am a woman: how can I get "the first sight?" Buddha at once by the exercise of his supernatural power changed her into a holy *chuan-lun* Prince,⁵ the very first to salute him. When Buddha was about to come down from the Tao-li Heaven, he produced by a miracle three flights of jewelled steps. Buddha came down the middle flight made of the seven precious substances.⁶ Brahma also produced silver steps, and attended on the right with a white dusting-brush⁷ in his hand. The divine ruler Shih produced steps of red⁸ gold and attended on the left with an umbrella of the seven precious substances. All the countless host of gods descended in Buddha's suite. When Buddha had come down, the three flights entirely disappeared in the earth with the exception of seven steps. Subsequently, king A-yün wanted to get to the bottom of them, and sent men to dig. They got down as far as the Yellow Spring,⁹ but without coming to an end of them. Thereupon the

5. "A Chakravartti Râja." *Beal*.

6. 佛在中道七寶階上行. Mr. Beal says somewhat incorrectly, "Buddha standing above the middle ladder which was made of seven precious substances began to descend."

7. Generally a yak's tail.

8. Strictly *purple* 紫.

9. Mr. Beal says "a spring of yellow water," but surely the meaning here is *the yellow spring*, that is, down to the very gate of hell. This rendering seems much more in accordance with the spirit of the passage.

king became more than ever a devout believer, and built a shrine over the steps, and on the middle flight made a full-length image, sixteen feet in height. Behind the shrine he erected a stone column thirty cubits in height, and on it he placed a lion. Inside the column at the four sides¹⁰ are images of Buddha. Both from inside and outside it is transparent,¹¹ and as clean as glass. Some heretic teachers contended for this spot with the Shamans, and the latter were getting the worst of the argument¹² when they all made this solemn statement:—"If right of residence in this place belongs to the Shamans, there should now be some miracle (in proof thereof). When they had said this, the lion at the top of the pillar roared loudly in attestation (of their right). Thereupon the heretics were sore afraid, and yielding retired. Because Buddha had taken Divine food for three months, his body emitted the fragrance of heaven, unlike that of mortals, so he at once bathed himself. On the spot where he did so a bath-house was subsequently built which is still in existence. On the spot were Yu-po-lo, the female mendicant, saluted him first of all, a pagoda has also been lately raised. Where Buddha, when among mankind, cut off his hair and nails a pagoda has been

10. Which, consequently, we must regard as having been square.

11. Mr. Beal says "shining," here again missing the force of 徹.

12. With regard to the last half of this sentence Mr. Beal makes one of the most extraordinary of his numerous mis-translations. The text is as simple as possible.—時沙門理屈—which means that the 理 of the Shamans was beginning to 屈 bend or give way. Yet Mr. Beal on these five words perpetrates the following:—"Then the Shamans agreed to any condition for settling the question that might be considered reasonable." Lord Burleigh's shake of the hand is nothing to it.

made;¹³ also on the spots where the three former Buddhas and Shih-chia Wên Buddha had sat down, or at places where they had taken exercise;¹⁴ and also where images of the various Buddhas have been made.¹⁵ These are all in existence still, and at the spot where, with the heavenly ruler Shih and Brahma in attendance, Buddha descended, there is also a pagoda. Counting priests and nuns there are about 1,000 here. They obtain their meals from a common fund, and belong some to the Greater, some to the Lesser, Development. Where they live¹⁶ there is a white-eared dragon which acts as a patron to these priests by making the land fertile, causing rain to fall in due season, and warding off all kinds of calamities, so that the priests dwell in peace. The priests out of gratitude for such kindness have built a dragon shrine and have prepared a place for the dragon to lie down¹⁷ They also make "special contributions"¹⁸ of food offerings for the dragon,

13. This must be the meaning though it is not a translation of the text.—佛在世時有剪髮爪作塔。

14. 經行處. To Mr. Beal is due the credit of this improved rendering.

15. 及作諸佛形像處. Mr. Beal says "also where there are marks and impressions left on the stones by the feet of the different Buddhas." Where he gets it all from it is not so easy to say.

16. Mr. Beal joins 住處 *dwelling-place* on to the end of the last sentence and renders it "agree to occupy the same place." This was one of Rémusat's eccentricities.

17. Mr. Beal has "placed a resting place (seat) for his accommodation." The text is 敷置坐處, of which 坐 for a dragon appears to have puzzled Mr. Beal, who has also failed to see the force of 敷 *to spread out*,

18. We have taken this from Mr. Beal as the equivalent of 福食, the first character of which that gentleman says is common in Buddhist works denoting that which causes "merit" and therefore happiness. We have met 福食 before in the light literature of China, but have always taken it to mean simply "food."

and every day select three members of the fraternity to go and eat in the dragon's shrine. At the end of each rainy season, the dragon suddenly changes its form to that of a small snake with white edges to its ears. When the priests are aware of this they fill a copper bowl with cream and throw the dragon into it; and as they proceed from the highest seat to the lowest it appears as if bowing. When the dragon has gone all round, it dissolves away.¹⁹ Every year it comes out once. This country is very productive; the people are flourishing, and happy²⁰ beyond all comparison. When men of other nations come, they invariably take care of them²¹ and give them what they require. Fifty

19. Confident that Mr. Beal, who follows partially in the wake of Rémusat, has utterly misrendered these last two sentences, we proceed to give the text and his translation for the benefit of our readers.

象僧識之銅盂盛酪以龍置中從上座至下坐行之似若問訊遍便化去。—"The body of priest, recognizing him, place in the midst for his use a copper vessel full of cream. The serpent then proceeds to come down from the highest part of the alcove, constructed for his accommodation, to the lowest part, all the while moving as though he would pay his respects to all those around him. He then suddenly disappears. First of all it is difficult to say why such a plain phrase as 以龍置中 should be slurred over by the merest two. "Taking the dragon, they throw it into (the bowl)," where it subsequently 化 "dissolves (in the cream)." The only obscure point is who "proceeds from the highest seat to the lowest," though the dragon in its snake form being once in the bowl we can hardly suppose it to get out for the purpose of coming down and then get in again to be dissolved. Besides 行之 implies the gait of man, and not the crawling 爬 of a snake. The bowl containing the snake is evidently carried down by a priest, which would easily account for the "bowing" movement of the reptile's head. There are other little inaccuracies in Mr. Beal's version of this passage, which the student of Chinese cannot fail to perceive.

20. Mr. Beal says "rich" for 樂.

21. 無不經理 -the very phrase used in Chapter II. See

yu-yen to the north of the temple, there is a temple called *Huo Ching*.²² *Huo Ching* is the name of an evil spirit. Buddha formerly transformed this evil spirit, and posterity has built a shrine on the spot as a religious offering to him.²³ A *Lo-han* took some water to wash his hands; the water dripped on the ground and is still to be seen there. In spite of sweeping, it still remains and cannot be removed. In this place there is another pagoda to Buddha. A good spirit regularly sweeps and sprinkles it. No human aid is required.²⁴ The king of a heretic country said, "As thou canst do this, I will bring a great army to quarter here. Wilt thou even then be able to "keep it clean?" The spirit caused a great wind to blow, and made it clean. In this place there are one hundred small pagodas, A man might spend a whole day counting without finding out their number. If any one is bent on knowing, then let him place a man by the side of each pagoda, and when this is done let him count the men. According to their number, he will be able to ascertain the number of pagodas.²⁵ There is a monastery

Note 10. This passage is loosely rendered by Mr. Beal.

22. 火境.

23. 以精舍布施. Mr. Beal joins these five characters to the next sentence, thus:—"At the time of the dedication of the *Vihāra*, (an arhat spilt, etc.)" But can 以 signify "at the time of?"

24. Mr. Beal here makes a great blunder in spite of *Rémusat's* correct translation to guide him. The text has 初不須人工, and Mr. Beal renders it "which at first (was built) without a human architect." He seems to be quite ignorant of other uses of 初, and thinks it always must mean "at the beginning."

25. Thus there is some sense in this passage; but we must warn our readers that to arrive at this we have been obliged to make a trifling emendation in the text, which should read 人或多或少其不可得知. We call particular attention to the 不 not which makes nonsense of the sentence; for surely to say that if

with 600 or 700 priests, inside which there is a spot where P'i-chih Buddha ate and passed into Nirvana.²⁶ The place is as big as a cart-wheel, and all around there is vegetation; but on this spot alone there is none. The place where he dried his clothes is also without vegetation. The marks left by these clothes have been there ever since and are still to be seen.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Fa Hsien spent the rainy season at the shrine of the dragon. When it was over he went seven *yu-yen* to the south-east and arrived at the city of Chi-jao-i,¹ which is on the banks of the Ganges. There two monasteries, both belonging to the Lesser Development. Six or seven *li* to the west of the city, on the north bank of the river, is the place where Buddha preached for his disciples. Tradition says he preached on "The bitterness of Death;" also on "Life is but a Bubble" and such themes.² A

any one really wants to find out the number of these pagodas, the following is the way, and then to add "but you will not be able to succeeds," is not such a probable text as to give the method and finish with "and thus you are enabled to get at their number." Those who prefer the text at all costs will of course adopt the former; yet our own translation is obtainable easily enough by the mere conversion of 不 into 方—in it-self a very probable misprint. Mr. Beal translates the above quotation, "But even in this case, it can never be known how many or how few men will be required."

26. Mr. Beal says "ate (the fruit of Nirvana)."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. Kanouj. *Klaproth*.

2. Mr. Beal says "he preached concerning impermanency and sorrow, and also on the *body* being like a bubble and so on." The text has 說無常苦說身如泡沫等. Mr. Beal construes 說 he preached 無常 impermanency 苦 and sorrow.

pagoda was built in this place which still exists. Crossing over the Ganges and proceeding south three *yu-yen*, the pilgrims came to a forest named A-h. Buddha preached in it; and on all the spots where he walked or sat down pagodas have been built.

CHAPTER XIX.

From this point going south-east ten *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the great nation of Sha-chih.¹ Outside the south gate of the city of Sha-chih, on the east of the road, is the place where Buddha formerly bit a branch off a willow tree² and stuck it in the ground, whereupon it grew to the height of seven feet, neither increasing nor diminishing. The heretics and Brahmans in their envy would have cut it down or pulled it up and thrown it to a distance; but it always came up as before on the same spot. Here there are also four places where Buddha walked and sat, and pagodas have been built on them which still exist.³

CHAPTER XX.

From this point going south eight *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at Shê-wei,¹ the capital of the country Ch'u-sa-lo.²

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Kasi. *Beal*.

2. Mr. Beal gives, "While here he bit off a piece from the Dāntakachta stick with which he cleansed his teeth, and fixing it etc." The text has only 佛本在此嚼楊枝刺土中, the first four characters which Mr. Beal has wrongly joined to the end of the preceding sentence.

3. Mr. Beal says "The ruins of these still exist. But the text has nothing about ruins. 起塔故在. The character 故 is here an illative particle.

CHAPTER XX.

1. Srāvastī. *Rémusat*.

2. Kôsala or Oude. *Rémusat*.

Inside the city the people are few and scattered, in all about two hundred families. It is the city which King Po-ssü-ni² governed. On the site of the old shrine of Ta-ai-tao, on the site of the well and wall³ of the elder Hsu-ta, and on the spot where Yang-chuo Mo, who was converted and entered Nirvāna, was burnt, men of after ages have built pagodas, all being inside this city. The heretics and Brahmans becoming envious, wished to destroy them; whereupon the heavens thundered and flashed lightning with a splitting crash, so that they were not able to succeed. Twelve hundred paces outside the south gate of the city, on the west side of the road, the elder Hsu-ta built a shrine. On the eastern face he made the entrance, and on each side placed a stone pillar⁴, the

3. Prasenājit. Rémusat.

4. Rémusat made a complete failure of this paragraph; and although Mr. Beal has availed himself of Julien's scholarship we are not sure that he has altogether succeeded. Ta-ai-to is Mahāprajāpati, Buddha's aunt. But Mr. Beal translates 井壁 as "the foundations of the house" of Śāradā, whom he calls somewhat unnecessarily "the nobleman" 長者. Now we can find no authority for translating 井壁 as "foundations," but we can find a great many for the literal rendering we have given. A recluse who withdraws himself from the world in order to devote himself to religion, takes up his position by the side of a well or spring and there builds a small piece of wall, facing which he spends the days and nights in meditation, unprotected from the wind and rain except by his 壁, and living on such herbs as he can gather, washed down by a drink of water from his 井.

Yang-chuo Mo = Angulimāyā. Julien.

5. The text runs 精舍東向開門戶兩廂有二石柱. Mr. Beal translates "This chapel opens towards the East. The principal door is flanked by two side chambers, in front of which stand two stone pillars." Except that it is not necessary to be so strictly literal with regard to 廂 which he renders very well for 邊. Mr. Beal's rendering has just as much chance of being correct as our own; in fact, we translate it differently chiefly to show

one to the left bearing the figure of a wheel, the one to the right that of an ox. The water in the ponds was clear, the trees luxuriant in foliage, and the flowers of various hues, truly beautiful to behold, so that it was called the Chih-hun⁶ shrine. When Buddha went up to the Tao-li heaven to preach the Law for his mother during ninety days, King Po-ssü-ui longing to see him, carved out of sandal-wood⁷ an image of Buddha and placed it on his (Buddha's) seat. Afterwards when Buddha returned to the shrine, the image immediately quitted its place and came forth to meet him. Buddha said "Return to your seat; after my Nirvana you shall be the model for the "four schools to copy." The image accordingly returned to the seat. This image was the very earliest of all images, and is that which later ages have copied. Buddha then removed to the small shrine on the south side, apart from the image and about twenty paces distant. The Chih-hun shrine was originally in seven compartments⁸. The Kings of these countries vied with each other in making offerings, hanging embroidered banners and canopies, scattering

that there are two ways, according as the stop is put after 開 or after 戶.

6. 祇洹. Mr. Beal in his Preface says "Chi-ün grounds, i.e. elaborate gardens."

7. See *ante*.

8. We think there has here been a general misconception of the form of this shrine. Rémusat translates 七重 by "sept étages," and Mr. Beal has put it into English as "seven stories" (*sic*). Now 重 *may* mean a storey, but it also means a section or part of a suite measured horizontally. We are further borne out in this view by the occurrence of the same word in a subsequent sentence—"得作兩重遠 they made it of two compartments *in extent*," not *in height*. If, however, Rémusat's emendation of 還 for 遠 is admitted, we shall be unable to claim this support.

flowers, burning incense, and lighting lamps from dusk to dawn⁹, day by day without ceasing. A rat holding in its mouth¹⁰ a lamp-wick set fire to the embroidered banners and canopies, and thus it came to pass that the seven compartments of the shrine were destroyed. The Kings and people of these countries were all very grieved and angry, saying¹¹ "The sandal-wood image has been burnt." But four or five days later when they opened the door of a small shrine on the east side, they suddenly beheld the original image (there). They were all very much rejoiced, and joining together rebuilt the shrine. They made it of two compartments in extent, and removed the image to its original position. Fa Hsien and Tao Ch'eng on arriving at the Chih-hun shrine reflected that formerly the world-honoured One had dwelt here twenty-five years; and that since they had been risking their lives among the outer barbarians, of all those who with the same object had traversed all these nations together, some had gone back and others were dead¹². And now when they

9. Mr. Beal says "while lamps shone out day after day with unfading splendor," by which he does not do justice to 續明 which means that the lamps were kept burning all night.

10. Mr. Beal says "gnawing at the wick," but the character 銜 implies running off with the wick in its mouth.

11. Mr. Beal wrongly gives "supposing that the sandal wood figure had also been consumed."

12. Mr. Beal, servilely copying Rémusat, has here committed one of his most glorious blunders. We will give the text of the whole passage. 法顯道整初到祇洹精舍念昔世尊住此二十五年自傷生在邊夷其諸同志遊歷諸國而或有還者或有無常者. For this Mr. Beal gives "When Fan Hsien and To Ch'ing arrived at this chapel of Chi-un, they were much affected to think that this was the spot in which Buddha had passed twenty-five years of his life. Around them stood many strangers, all occupied in similar reflec-

saw Buddha's vacant place, their hearts were moved to grief. The priests who lived there came forth and asked Fa Hsien, saying, "From what nation do you come?" He replied "From the land of Han." The priests sighed and said, "Good indeed! Is it possible that foreigners can come hither seeking the Law?" Then they spoke one to another, saying, "Ever since (the Law) has been transmitted by us priests from generation to generation, no Buddhists from the land of Han have been known to come here!" Four *li* to the north-west of the shrine there is a grove of trees called "Recovered Sight." Formerly, there were five hundred blind men living at the side of the shrine¹³. Buddha prayed for them and they all recovered their sight. The blind men were delighted, and sticking their staves in the ground made obeisance. These staves accordingly grew to a considerable size, and as people venerated them and did not venture to cut them down they became a grove, and obtained this name. The priests of Chih-hun after their midday meal generally come into this grove to sit in meditation. Six or seven *li* to the north-east of the Chih-hun shrine, mother P'i-she-chu¹⁴ made a shrine, and invited Buddha and the priests.

tions. They had traversed a succession of strange countries. Perhaps they might be spared to return home, perhaps they would die!" Such a translation well deserves a dozen notes of admiration at the end instead of the single one that Mr. Beal modestly appends. Six consecutive characters are utterly ignored, and a host of strangers, all making the same reflections as our two pilgrims, are improvised solely as a means of attaching some significance to 共.

13. 依精舍住此. Mr. Beal gives "dwelling on this spot, who were in the habit of attending the Chapel." We do not know 依 in this sense, but not being quite satisfied with the literal rendering, willingly hand over the difficulty to our readers.

14. Visikamāṭṭhi. *Beal*.

It is still in existence there¹⁵. The great *goin-to* of the Chih-hun shrine has two entrance-, one to the east and the other to the north. This garden is on the spot where the elder Hsu-ta spread gold money and bought the ground¹⁷. The shrine is in the middle of it. Buddha lived here a long time preaching salvation to men. On all the spots where he walked and sat, pagodas have been built, each with its particular name; as, for instance, the place where the Sun-to-li¹⁸ committed murder and accused Buddha. Seventy paces to the north, outside the east entrance of the Chih-hun, on the east side of the road, Buddha formerly argued with ninety-six schools of heretics. The King, Ministers, gentry, and people came together in crowds to listen, when a heretic woman, named Chan-chê-mo-na¹⁹, becoming envious, arranged some clothes in such a manner as to make herself appear *enceinte*, and coming into the midst of the priests accused Buddha of breaking the Law. Thereupon the heavenly ruler Shih changed himself into a white mouse and bit her girdle in two. The clothes then fell down, and immediately the earth gaped and she went down alive to the

15. Mr. Deal says "the ruins of this chapel still exist," and adds in a note, "the word *ku* used in the original, although generally used adverbially, denoting *a consequence of an action*, has also the sense of *ku*, ancient or old." The text has 此處故在, or according to Mr. Deal 故 the ruins 此處 of this place 在 still exist.

16. The text has 援落. Mr. Deal translates it "clad in enclosure," as if 援, partly on the strength of the re-appearance of this character in the next sentence. He is doubtless right.

17. In order to obtain a certain plot of land on which to build a shrine for Buddha, he had to cover it for the owner with gold coin.

18. 孫陀利殺身傍佛處. Mr. Deal says "the place where Buddha was accused of murdering the woman Sândara."

19. Chûnchimana. *Deal*.

Infernal Regions. There is also the place where Tiao-ta²⁰ with poisoned nails wished to injure Buddha and went down alive to the Infernal Regions. Posterity has marked all these spots for recognition. Moreover, where the argument took place a shrine has been built, over sixty feet in height, with a sitting Buddha inside. On the east of this road there is a temple²¹ belonging to the heretics, called "Ying-fou."²² It is alongside of the road, on the opposite side to the shrine at the place of the argument, and is also over sixty feet in height. The temple is called "Ying-fou" because when the sun is in the west the shadow of Buddha's shrine falls upon it; but when the sun is in the east, the shadow of the temple falls northwards and thus never touches Buddha's shrine. Whenever the heretics sent people, as they often did, to look after the temple, sweep and sprinkle it, burn incense, light lamps, and make offerings, the next morning the lamps were always found in Buddha's shrine. The Brahmans in their anger said "You Shamans are always taking away our lamps to worship your Buddha."²³ They therefore remained in attendance that night, and saw the deities they themselves worship-

20. Dévadatta. *Rémusat*.

21. 天寺. *Devālaya. Rémusat*.

22. 影覆, "shadow covered."

23. This appears to us nearer the original than Mr. Beal's translation of *Rémusat's* rendering "pourquoi ne nous y opposerions pas?"—"why do not we put a stop to it?" The whole sentence is 諸沙門取我燈自供養佛爲爾不止. *Rémusat* and Mr. Beal make these words spoken by the Brahmans among themselves, not to the Shamans, but the sense they give to the last four characters seems to us out of the question as 爾 never means *we*, and 不止 fits in very well with the 輒 in the last sentence.

ped²⁴ take the lamps, walk three times round Buddha's shrine, and offer them to him. When they had done this, they suddenly disappeared. Thus, the Brahmans came to know the greatness of Buddha's divinity, and at once left their homes and entered his priesthood.²⁵ Tradition says that near about the time that this happened the Chih-hun shrine was surrounded by ninety-six monasteries, all inhabited by priests²⁶, except one which was empty. In this country²⁷ there are ninety-six schools of heretics, all of which acknowledge the present state of existence.²⁸ These have each their disciples, who also all beg their food, but do not hold an alms-bowl. They further seek salvation²⁹ by building alongside of

24. 見其所事天神 Mr. Beal's translation of this is a gratuitous mistake, for Remusat gives it correctly enough. Mr. Beal, however, puts a stop at 事 and renders it "saw how the thing was done," joining 天神 on to the next sentence. We refer Mr. Beal to the 四書 *passim* for the use of 事 as we have given it.

25. 捨家入道.

26. Literally, "all of which had dwelling places for priests, except one place which was empty."

27. The text has 此中國有, etc., and Mr. Beal translates by "In this country of mid-India," which is of course wrong, and which we are ashamed to say put us temporarily off the right scent. Luckily, however, we came across the very phrase some weeks later in Book II. Part II. Chapter 10, of the works of Mencius, namely 我欲中國而受孟子室, which quite disposes of Mr. Beal. An analogy between 中國 and the Latin *medio regno* was suggested by a friend, Mr. G. M. H. Playfair, who is destined some day to take a high place among Sinologues. Such similarities, however, will hardly bear dissection, though we consider the present example happy enough to deserve quotation.

28. 皆知今世 Remusat says "qui tous connaissent le monde actuel." Mr. Beal says "all of whom (sic) allow the reality of worldly phenomena."

29. Mr. Beal has entirely omitted 亦求福於曠路, puzzled

desert roads houses of charity where shelter and food are given to travellers, or to passing priests of Buddha—but for a different period. Tiao-ta³⁰ has also some priests remaining. They worship the three past Buddhas, but not Shih-chia-wên³¹ Buddha. Four *li* to the south-east of the city of Shê-wei is the spot where Buddha stood by the roadside when king Liu-li³² wanted to destroy the She-³³ nation. A pagoda has been built there. Fifty *li* to the west of the city, there is another city called Tou-wei.³⁴ It is the place where Chia-yeh³⁵ Buddha was born. There where the father and son met, and where he entered Nirvāṇa, pagodas have been built. A great pagoda has also been raised over the remains of the body of Chia-yeh Ju-lai.³⁶

CHAPTER XXI.

From the city of Shê-wei travelling south-east twelve *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at a large town called Na-p'i-

probably by Rémusat's translation of these words,—“ Ils cherchent aussi le bouddha dans les déserts et sur les routes.” We submit our translation to the approval of our readers, who will probably agree with us that even an unsuccessful effort is better than slurring over a passage as if there was no real difficulty in it.

30. Dô-tai-tsu. *Rémusat*.

31. Shākya Muni.

32. Viradhatta. *Beal*.

33. 舍夷. Because Mr. Beal cannot identify Shê-i, he says it must be the “country of the Śākya family.” It would have been, to say the least, polite to acknowledge that this speculation is more correctly the property of Rémusat. Ch. xx., Note 27.

34. Mr. Beal says “Cunningham identifies this place with Tadwa.”

35. Kāśyapa. *Rémusat*.

36. Ju-lai—Tathāgata. *Rémusat*.

chia,¹ which is the place where Chu-lo-ch'in² Buddha was born. On the spot where the father and son met and where he entered Nirvāna, there are also monasteries³ and pagodas. From this point going north less than a *yu-yen*, they arrived at the city where Chu-na-han-mou-ni⁴ Buddha was born. On the spot where the father and son met and where he entered Nirvāna, pagodas have in both cases been built.

CHAPTER XXII.

From this point going east one *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the city of Chia-wei-lo-wei.¹ Inside the city there is neither King nor people; it is just like a wilderness. There are only priests and some tens of families,² and that is all. On the spot where formerly was the palace of King Pai-ching a representation has been made of the heir-apparent and his mother, at the moment that, riding on a white elephant, he entered the womb of his mother.³

CHAPTER XXI.

1. Unknown.
2. Krakuchanda. *Rémusat*.
3. Mr. Beal omits the "monasteries."
4. Kanakamni. *Rémusat*.

[From this point Klaproth is chiefly responsible for the notes appended to each chapter of *Rémusat*'s translation, but for convenience we shall still continue to quote them as before under the name of *Rémusat*.]

CHAPTER XXII.

1. Kapilavastu. *Rémusat*.
2. 數十家. Mr. Beal as usual says, "about ten families."

3. The following is the text of this sentence:—白淨王故宮處作太子母形像乃太子乘白象入母胎時. Mr. Beal gives, "In the place where stand the ruins of the palace of Sudhōdana, there is a picture of the Prince apparent and his mother."

On the spots where the Prince issued from the east gate, saw a sick man, and turned about his chariot to go home, pagodas have been raised. Also, where A-i inspected the heir-apparent;⁴ where Nan-t'o and the others struck the elephant, dragged, and threw it⁵ (outside the city wall); where the arrow going south-east thirty *li* entered the ground and caused a spring of water to gush forth, which posterity made into a well for travellers to drink at; where Buddha, having attained Wisdom, came back to see his father the King; where the five hundred Shih-tzu⁶ left their families and made obeisance to Yu-po-li; where the earth quaked six times;⁷ where Buddha prayed for all the Dêvas, and the four heavenly Kings guarded the four doors so that the King his father could not get in; where Ta-ai-tao presented Buddha with a priest's robe as he sat facing the east underneath the Ni-chu-lu⁸ tree, which tree still exists; and where King Liu-li killed the Shakyas⁹ who had all previously obtained the rank of Hsu-t'o-hun¹⁰—towers have been built which are still

(supposed to be) taken at the time of his miraculous conception. The Prince is represented as descending towards his mother, riding on a white elephant." Rémusat gives *Sudhâdana* for king *Pai-ching*.

4. In order to tell his fortune.

5. Mr. Beal has omitted 射 *throw*, though he explains in his note (from Julien) that Dêvadatta struck the elephant with his fist and killed it. Nanda seized and dragged it aside, and Buddha threw it outside the city walls."

6. 釋子.

7. 六種; more correctly, as Rémusat has it, "de six manières." Mr. Beal says "six times in succession."

8. Nyagrodha. Rémusat.

9. Women whom he (Vivandhaka) had carried away for his harem, but who refused to accept their position. Julien.

10. "Srôtâpanna, est le nom de la première classe des *S'ravakas* ou auditeurs de Bouddha." Rémusat.

in existence. Several *li* to the north-east of the city there is a royal field, where the heir-apparent sat under a tree and watched men ploughing.¹¹ Fifty *li* to the east there is a royal garden, called Lun-min¹², where the Queen, entering the pool, bathed herself, and coming out twenty paces on the north side of the pool, raised her hands to grasp the branch of a tree,¹³ and facing the east brought forth the heir-apparent. When the Prince was born he walked seven steps, and two dragon-kings¹⁴ washed his body. At the place where he was washed a well has been made, and also at the above-mentioned bathing pool,¹⁵ from which the priests are now accustomed to get their drinking-water. All Buddhas have four places everlastingly fixed. (1). Where they attain per-

11. Mr. Beal says "watched a ploughing-match." but gives no explanation of or authority for such rendering. Rémusat says "considéra des laboureurs." and quotes a passage to shew that the young prince was invited to take an interest in agriculture "afin que ses réflexions ne se portassent pas sur la doctrine."

12. Lumbini. Also expressed in Chinese by 龍彌你.

13. Mr. Beal says "holding a branch of the (Sala) tree in her hand" for 舉手攀樹枝. He has omitted the next two characters altogether, 東向 *facing the east*.

14. Rémusat says in a note "Deux rois des dragons, frères, l'un nommé Kia lo, et l'autre Yü Kia lo."

15. A troublesome sentence to translate satisfactorily. Mr. Beal, as is his wont with difficult passages, avoids exposing his weakness by taking no notice at all of the last five characters. The text runs 浴處遂作井及上洗浴池. The difficulty is of course with 上. Does it mean literally "over (the well)," or merely "beside," for which there would be sufficient authority in 井上有李. Or may 上 refer to (上文) the bathing-place "above-mentioned?" Rémusat gives the following forced translation:—"à l'endroit où cette ablution eut lieu, il se forma aussitôt un puits, et c'est à ce puits aussi bien qu'à l'étang où avait eu lieu le bain, que les religieux ont coutume de puiser l'eau qu'ils boivent." It seems to us pretty clear that there were *two* wells, one at each place.

fect wisdom. (2). Where they turn the wheel of the Law.¹⁶ (3). Where they preach and refute the heretics in argument. (4). Where they descend after having been up to the Tao-li heaven to preach the Law for the benefit of their mothers. The other places are announced according to circumstances.¹⁷ The country of Chia-wei-lo-wei is very desolate and barren, with very few inhabitants.¹⁸ On the roads, white elephants and lions are to be feared; travellers must not be incautious.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Travelling eastward¹ five *yu-yen* from Buddha's birth place, there is a country called Lan-mo.² The king of this country obtained a share³ of Buddha's remains, and when he got back he built a pagoda which was called the Lan-mo pagoda. By the side of the pagoda is a pool,

16. "C'est une expression allégorique employée pour indiquer qu'un Boudha a commencé à prêcher la doctrine." *Rémusat*.

17. 餘則隨時示現焉. Mr. Beal gives "With respect to other places, they are chosen according to the time when the several Buddhas come into the world." But 現 is only the complement of 示.

18. Mr. Beal here makes another of his uncalled-for emendations. The text is extremely simple:—人民稀疎道路怖畏白象 etc, but Mr. Beal must needs put a stop at 路 and render it "you seldom meet any people on the roads."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. Klaproth has inadvertently placed this sentence at the end of one chapter and at the beginning of the next. Mr. Beal puts it at the end of chapter xxii. but it seems more appropriate here.

2. "This place is identical with Râmagamo of the Mahawanso." *Beal*.

3. One of the eight parts into which his remains were divided after cremation

and in it there is a dragon which is always guarding the pagoda, and worships there day and night. When king A-yü came into the world, he wanted to destroy the eight pagodas⁴ and make eighty-four thousand pagodas. When he had already destroyed seven, he next wished to destroy this one; whereupon the dragon assumed its shape,⁵ and led king A-yü into the building. Then when he had seen all the implements of worship, (the dragon) said to the king, "If you can worship more efficiently than this, then you may destroy it." (The dragon then) led him forth,⁶ (saying) "I will not contend with you." King A-yü, knowing that these implements of worship were not of this world, at once returned home. Hereabout the vegetation is rank. No one sprinkles or sweeps;⁷ but occasionally a herd of elephants taking water with their trunks, sprinkle the ground, or bring flowers and incense to offer at the pagoda. Some Buddhists of these countries, wishing to worship at the pagoda, when they saw the elephants, were very much afraid and hid themselves

4. Built over the eight portions of his remains.

5. The text has 龍便現身. Mr. Beal says, "The Dragon therefore assumed a body," and refers to Julien as his authority for stating in a note "Namely that of a Brahmin." The Chinese phrase, however, implies nothing beyond the sense attached to it in our translation, and simply means "became visible (as a dragon)" 現形 is a synonymous phrase.

6. The two words 持去 which we have thus translated are considered by Mr. Beal as part and parcel of the dragon's speech, his version of this sentence being, "If you can excel me in these particulars, then you may destroy the tower, *go and do so at once*, I will have no quarrel with you." The italics are our own—a tribute of astonishment, if not of admiration, at this handling of the two characters given above, which are undoubtedly in antithesis to 持 * * 入.

7. The *inside* of the pagoda

behind trees; (then) beholding the elephants perform the ceremonies according to the Law, the Buddhists were overcome with sorrow and gratitude;" (with sorrow because) here there were no monks for the performance of rites at the pagoda, so that the (duties of) sprinkling and sweeping devolved upon elephants. These Buddhists therefore gave up their Five Commandments^a and became Shamis, themselves cutting down the grass and shrubs, levelling the spot, and thus making it neat and clean. They persuaded the king of the country to made dwelling-places for priests, to serve as a temple.¹⁰ At present there are priests in residence. The above events are quite recent, and from the date of their occurrence until

8. Mr. Beal here ignores the character 感 *appreciation* of the elephants' services, and thus escapes the somewhat clumsy construction of the next few words.

9. Ordinary Buddhists are bound to observe only five (A) commandments; but for those who enter the priesthood there are five (B) more, ten in all.

- | | | |
|----|-----|---|
| | (1. | Thou shalt not take life. |
| | 2. | " " " steal |
| A. | 3. | " " " commit adultery. |
| | 4. | " " " lie. |
| | 5. | " " " drink wine. |
| | (1. | " " " sit on a large or lofty couch. |
| | 2. | " " " have flowers or ribbons on thy dress. |
| B. | 3. | " " " sing, dance, or witness plays. |
| | 4. | " " " wear jewellery. |
| | 5. | " " " eat except at certain hours. |

10. The text has 勸化國王作僧住處已爲寺
今現有僧住. Mr. Beal says "They further stimulated the King of the country to help make residences for the priests. Moreover they built a temple, in which priests still reside." We fail to see how Mr. Beal arrives at this very plausible rendering. To make anything at all of it, we have been obliged as usual to change 已 into 以. Mr. Beal further leaves out altogether the next four characters 此事在近.

now¹¹, the head of the temple has always been a Shami. From this point going east three *yu-yen*, on the spot where the heir-apparent sent back his charioteer¹² and got away from his white horse, a pagoda has been built.

CHAPTER XXIV.

From this point going east four *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the Ashes pagoda,¹ where there is also a monastery. Proceeding further twelve *yu-yen*, they arrived at the city of Chu-i-na-chieh.² To the north of the city, where between two trees, on the bank of the Hsi-lien river, the world-honoured One, with his head to the north, entered Nirvāna; where Hsu-po³ last of all attained Wisdom; where in his golden coffin the world-honoured One was worshipped for seven days; where Chin-kang-li-shih⁴ threw down his sceptre: and where the eight kings divided the remains—in all these places pagodas have been built, and monasteries, all of which exist to this day. In this city the inhabitants are very

11. We consider that 相承 is sufficiently expressed by this rendering. Mr. Beal says "there has been a regular succession of priests till now."

12. Rénusat says "renvoya son char et quitta son cheval blanc." Mr. Beal says "dismissed his charioteer Tchandaka, and the royal horse, previous to their return." The text has 太子遣車匿白馬還處. The fact that Buddha's horse was very anxious to accompany him explains the use of 匿, but 還 seems a little awkwardly placed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. Built on the spot where Buddha's body was burnt.
2. "La ville de Kousinārā des livres pal." Rénusat.
3. Subhadra. Rénusat.
4. Vajrapāni. He threw down his sceptre and rolled on the ground for grief at the death of Buddha. Rénusat.

few and scattered, and only such as are connected with the priesthood. From this point going south-east twelve *yu-yen*, they arrived at the place where all the Li-chu⁵ wished to follow Buddha into Nirvāṇa, but Buddha would not hear of it. Longing for Buddha, they were unwilling to depart; whereupon Buddha produced a great, deep stream which they could not cross; and then, giving them his alms-bowl as a memorial, sent them away to their homes. A stone pillar has been put up on which this is inscribed.

CHAPTER XXV.

From this point going east five *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the country of P'i-shê-li.¹ To the north of the capital of P'i-shê-li there is a large forest and a shrine in two compartments² where Buddha once dwelt; also the

5. "Habitants de la ville de *Phi che li* (Vaisālī)." *Rémusat*,
The rest of this chapter has received severe treatment at the hands of Klaproth. Hardly two consecutive words are properly translated, and the sense is completely altered. Mr. Beal has given it correctly, but we must differ from him as to the last seven characters. He says "On this they *went back* and erected a stone pillar, although he has already used up in the preceding sentence the only character 往 to which such meaning could be attached.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. Vaisālī. *Rémusat*.

2. Mr. Beal gives the following somewhat confused rendering of this passage:—"To the north of the city of this name (or, to the North of the capital city of Vaisālī) there is the Vihāra of the great forest (Mahāvana Vihāra) which has a double tower (or a tower of two stories sic)." The text has 城北大林重閣精舍, and seems to yield more readily a forest and a shrine, as *Rémusat* originally took it. 重閣 does not mean either a "double tower or a tower of two storeys; but simply that the shrine was divided into two 閣, which character may but does not necessarily signify an upper chamber.

pagoda (built over) half the body of A-nan. Inside this city the woman An-po-lo³ formerly build a pagoda in honour of Buddha, which is still in existence. Three *li* to the south of the city, on the west side of the road, where was the garden which the woman An-po-lo gave to Buddha for a dwelling-place; and where Buddha, about to enter Nirvāna, issuing with his disciples from the west gate of the city, turned round to the right,⁴ and beholding the city of P'i-shē-li said to his disciples "This is the last place I shall visit"⁵—on these spots men of later generations have build pagodas. Three *li* to the north-west of the city there is a pagoda called Fang-kung-chang,⁶ the origin of which name was as follows:—On the upper Ganges there was a king whose concubine was delivered of an unformed foetus. The Queen in her jealousy said "Your delivery is a bad omen," and accordingly enclosed it in a wooden box and threw it into the Ganges. Lower down the stream the king of another country was taking a stroll when he saw on the water the wooden box. He opened it and found inside one thousand boys, upright

3. Amradārikā, or daughter of the mango tree. *Beal*.

4. Mr. Beal adds "as a token of respect," but alludes to "an ingenious note" by Mr. Laidlay, which it is to be regretted he has not given.

5. 是吾最後所行處. Mr. Beal gives "In this place I have performed the last religious act of my career" But there is no authority (except Klaproth's) for such an interpretation of 行. Rémusat himself was very wide of the mark:—"C'est un lieu où je reviendrai bien longtemps après ceci."

6. 放弓仗=*lay down bows and other weapons*. 仗 is a general term for 兵器; not "clubs" as Mr. Beal chooses to translate it.

7. 上流, which Mr. Beal understands to be "On one of the superior tributaries of the river." But the 上流 may mean that this

and of striking appearance.³ The king at once took them out and brought them up, and when they were full-grown they were very brave and strong, so that whenever they went to war their enemies were invariably compelled into submission. Subsequently, they went to attack the country of the king their father, at which the latter was overcome with anxiety. His concubine asked the king why he was anxious. He replied, "The king of that country has one thousand sons incomparably brave and strong, and they propose coming to my country; therefore I am anxious." His concubine said, "Be not anxious; but make a lofty chamber on the east side of the city, and when the enemy comes place me up in it. I shall be able to keep them off." The king did so, and when the enemy arrived, the concubine called out to them from the chamber, "You are my sons:¹⁰ why do you rebel against me?" They replied "Who are you that says you are our mother?" The concubine said, "If you do not believe, all look up and open your mouths." She then pressed her two breasts, and each gave forth five hundred

king lived "higher up" than the other, in which sense we use the word "upper." It might well be omitted altogether provided due force were given to the following 下流.

8 端正殊特. Mr. Dea wrongly renders these words "very fair and just of a size." If 殊 was to be used in its other sense, it would give the exact contrary to "just of a size;" but here it is undoubtedly to be taken in its superlative sense.

9. Mr. Dea translates 賊 as "robbers," apparently ignorant that this is the common term applied to thieves, rebels, and hostile armies alike.

10. For no earthly reason Mr. Dea elects to put this half of her speech in an interrogative form,—"Are you my children all?"—the other half being in the affirmative. We are not, however, to be misled by the fact that Mr. Dea translates the whole of the speech in the affirmative form.

jets of milk which fell into the mouths of her thousand sons. Then they knew that she was their mother and laid down their bows and other weapons. The two kings, their fathers, by meditating upon these circumstances attained the state of P'i-chih Buddhas, and the pagoda built in memory of them is still in existence. Afterwards, when the world-honoured One attained wisdom, he said to his disciples "This is where formerly in my time the bows and weapons were laid down."¹¹ Thus posterity came to know, and built a pagoda on the spot. Hence the name. The thousand boys are the same as the thousand Buddhas of the *Wajra* of sages.¹² Buddha standing by the pagoda of Fang-kung-chang said to A-nan, "After three months I must enter Nirvana"; on which the king of devils¹³ confused A-nan so that he did not request Buddha to remain in the world. From this point going east three or four *li*, there is a pagoda. A hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha some mendicant priests of P'i-shan having broken the Disciplines in ten particulars stated that Buddha had said such was the proper practice;¹⁴ whereupon the Lohan, the mendicants who observed the Disciplines, and the lay-brothers,¹⁵ in all

11. Arriving at this translation, which the text will only bear with a strain, it was concluding to find that Rénausit had come to the same conclusion, — "*le lieu où jadis on avait déposé.*" Buddha said 是吾昔時放弓仗處, and 吾 is apparently the nominative case to 放 as Mr. Deal has given it:—"This is the place where I formerly had a bow and my club." But this does not make sense.

12. 世界. “Le kalpa dans lequel nous vivons, est un kalpa.”
Kalpa ou kalpat : temps, époque. — K'yaouan.

13, 21, 16

14. 證言佛說如是, *M. Bhaddiya-d. 1. 100. 1. 1.*
ten in the text.

15. 子曰：「見夫者。」

seven hundred ecclesiastics, examined and compared the Disciplines over and over again.¹⁶ Posterity has built a pagoda on the spot which is also still in existence.

CHAPTER XXVI

From this point going east four *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the confluence of the five rivers. When A-nan going from the country of Mo-chieh¹ to P'i-shê-li wished to enter Nirvāna, the gods informed king A-shê-shih² who at once proceeded with all haste and with his soldiers pursued him to the river. The Li-chü, hearing that A-nan had arrived, also came to meet him; and when they were all³ on the river (banks), A-nan reflected that by advancing he would incur the hatred of king A-shê-shih, and by returning, the enmity of the Li-chü. Therefore, in the middle of the river he entered the fiery state of *sun-mei*⁴ and

translate "lay-brothers." These last do not shave the entire head, and have not been branded, i.e. ordained.

16. Mr. Beal says "afresh;" but 更 = 更番 *many times*. Mr. Beal takes it as if the priests produced a revised copy of the Disciplines; the text, however, seems only to imply that a search was made for the passages quoted by the Nonconformists.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Magadha. *Résumé*

2. Ajātasatru. "C'était un roi de Magadha qui vivait vers l'an 568 avant notre ère." *Résumé*. Mr. Beal places him, according to the Hindoo records, B. C. 560.

3. 俱到河上—i.e. the king and his soldiers on one side, the Li-chü on the other. Mr. Beal ignores 俱 and says the Litchavas set out to meet him "and arrived at the bank of the river."

4. 三昧 "*Samādhi*, c'est à dire la plus profonde méditation religieuse, laquelle sort alors du corps du défunt et le consume pour le reproduire dans toute la beauté dont il était orné pendant sa vie." *Résumé*

passed by cremation into Nirvāna. His body was divided into two parts, one for each side of the river; and the two kings having each obtained one half of his remains returned and raised pagodas over them.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Having crossed the river and journeyed south one *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Mo-chieh-t'i¹ and the city of Pa-lien-fo,² the latter of which was (formerly) ruled by king A-yu. The king's palace and courts were all constructed by spirits whom he employed to pile stones, build walls and gates, carve ornamental designs and engrave³—truly not the work of mortals. These still exist. King A-yu's younger brother having attained the position of Lo-han was in the habit of residing at the Ch'i-shè-chueh hill,⁴ his idea of enjoyment being undisturbed meditation. The king very respectfully asked him to come and practice his religious ceremonies⁵ at home; but he, liking the quiet of the hill, refused to accept the invitation. The king then said to him "If you will only

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. Magadha.

2. Patna.

3. The text has 累石起塼闕雕文刻鏤 Mr. Beal gives "The massive stones of which the walls are made, the doorways and the sculptured towers, are no human work." We can find nothing about towers or "massive" stones in the text. For the former Mr. Beal has evidently mistaken 鏤. The whole sentence is moreover wrongly separated from the verb 使 on which it depends.

4. Gridhrakūta or the Pic du Vantour. *Régnant*.

5. Mr. Beal here translates 供養 "to receive (or present) his religious offerings." But it hardly seems doubtful which must be meant in the present passage.

"agree to come, I will make a hill for you in the middle of the city." Accordingly he prepared food and drink, and calling together all the spirits said to them, "Tomorrow when all of you accept my invitation, there being no seats,⁶ each bring your own." On the following day the spirits arrived each carrying a huge cube⁷ of stone some four or five paces (every way). When the spirits had done with them as seats, the king made them make a great hill,⁸ and further at the foot of it construct a stone room with five square stones, thirty feet in length, twenty feet in breadth, and more than ten feet in height. There was a Brahman belonging to the Greater Development, named Lo-t'ai-ssü-p'o-mi,⁹ who lived in this city. His intellect was vigorous and his knowledge extensive; there was nothing that he did not understand. He led a pure and solitary life.¹⁰ The king of the country revered him as his teacher,¹¹ and when he went to pay his respects did not venture to sit down. If the king from a feeling of affection and veneration grasped his hand, when he let go the Brahman would make haste to wash it.¹²

6. Klaproth got into a glorious state of confusion over this simple sentence.

7. For the meaning of 辟方 we shall look to the assistance of a friendly reader. Mr. Beal avoids the difficulty with his usual skill.

8. 作大石山. The 大 refers to 山 and not 石 as Mr. Beal erroneously takes it.

9. Mr. Beal can give no "satisfactory opinion as to the correct restoration of this name;" and—it may be a coincidence—Rémusat is equally mute.

10. 以清淨自居. Mr. Beal says "he lived apart occupied in silent meditation." But there is nothing here about "meditation." He has apparently confused 清 and 靜.

11. "Religious superior (Guru)." *Beal*.

12. Mr. Beal absurdly renders this 灌洗 by "washed himself and his feet."

He was perhaps over fifty years of age.¹³ All the country looked up to and relied on this one man. He diffused widely the Law of Buddha, so that the heretics were unable to discredit it.¹⁴ By the side of king A-yu's pagoda the priests built a Mo-ho-yen¹⁵ monastery, very imposing in appearance. There is also a temple of the Lesser Development, the two together numbering six or seven hundred priests, of grave and decorous aspect, each taking his proper place.¹⁶ Virtuous Shamans from all quarters,

13. Mr. Beal here falls into a gross blunder, and one which had already been perpetrated by Klaproth. He joins this sentence on to the next and translates it, "For something like fifty years the whole country looked up to this man and placed its confidence on him alone." The text has 年可五十餘舉國瞻賴此一人.

14. Here again Mr. Beal, this time differing from Remusat, commits an error of *liaison*. This sentence ends 不能得加陵 (the last character being evidently a misprint for 凌) and the next begins with 衆僧, but Mr. Beal gives it "were unable to obtain any advantage at all over the priesthood."

15. Mahayana, or the Greater Development.

16. We cannot refrain from giving this passage with the renderings of Beal and Remusat. 六七百僧衆威儀庠序可觀四方高德沙門及. etc. For this Remusat gives "× × six et sept cents religieux. On y voit aussi des collèges admirables batis dans un style majestueux et grave. Les Chinois d'une haute vertu des quatre parties du monde &c." Mr. Beal says "× × six or seven hundred priests, all of them exceedingly well conducted. In the College attached to the temple one may see eminent Shamans from every quarter of the world, &c." We will confine ourselves to an analysis of Mr. Beal's version. He puts a comma at 衆 and a full stop at 儀, thus producing a most un-Chinese sentence of two adjectives; and further makes 觀 govern 沙門 as its accusative case. Such a jumble quite throws into the shade the French version, wherein the proper division of sentences is retained, although the result is fully as monstrous as Mr. Beal's. We venture to assert that 庠序 has here nothing whatever to do with "colleges" of any kind. The idea intended is that of 次序 or the "order" of

and also scholars, desirous of advancing themselves in the moralities, come together at this temple. The Brahman teacher is called Wên-shu-shih-li,¹⁷ and is very much looked up to by the Shamans and mendicants of the Greater Development. He too resides in this monastery. Of all the countries of central India, this has the largest cities. The people are prosperous, and emulate each other in the practice of virtue. Every year regularly on the 8th of the 2nd moon they have a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car of five storeys by lashing together bamboos; and on it there are crescent-headed javelins and partisans.¹⁸ It is more than twenty feet in height. It is like a pagoda in appearance, and draped round with a kind of cashmere which is painted in various colours. They make images of all the gods, using gold, silver, and glass to ornament them, and suspending over them embroidered banners and canopies. At the four sides they make niches, each with a Buddha sitting inside and a P'u-sa standing in attendance. There may be twenty cars, every one of which is differently decorated. On this day all the ecclesiastics and laymen in the district assemble, and occupy themselves with singing and rare music,¹⁹ burning incense, and making offerings of flowers

seniors and juniors in the priesthood. The words 庠序 in their ordinary sense will be found in one of the early chapters of Mencius.

17. Mañjusri. *Rémusat*.

18. Mr. Beal translates these last few characters 有承爐攬戟 by "the whole being supported by a centre post resembling a large spear with three points." *Rémusat* comes far nearer with "soutenus par des lances." The allusion is to two kinds of weapons which are often seen on these image cars. The first 承爐 is, as we have given it in the text, crescent-headed, the 攬戟 has the crescent of metal at the side.

19. 作倡伎樂. For this Mr. Beal gives: "There are all

etc. The Brahmans come out to invite the Buddhas, who enter the city in regular order, and in it pass two nights.²⁰ All night long there are lamps burning, music playing, and offerings being made. All these nations act in a similar way. The benevolent and educated persons of this country have instituted a free hospital within the city; and hither come all poor or helpless patients²¹ suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well they may go away. When A-yu destroyed the seven pagodas to make eighty-four thousand others, the first made was a great one about three *li* to the south of this city. In front of this pagoda there is an impression of Buddha's foot (over which) a shrine has been raised, the entrance of which faces the north and is opposite the pagoda.²²

sorts of games and amusements," and later on translates 樂 by "games" where it could hardly be anything but *yo* music.

20. 佛次第入城入城內再宿 Mr. Beal ignores the 佛, regarding it probably as an accidental repetition of the last word. He then proceeds to understand the character 車 *cars*, and translates, "and one after the other the cars enter the city. After coming into town *they take up their several positions.*" The italics are ours, being a slight tribute to the ingenuity that could extort such a meaning from the characters 再宿, which in ordinary Chinese literature, epistolary and otherwise, are understood in the sense we have given. To sleep *one* night is 經宵.

21. It is obviously absurd to make this "hospital" a refuge for the poor, the destitute, the cripples, &c., as Régnier and Beal treat this passage. The words 貧窮孤獨 are here used as adjectives qualifying the classes of patients who would be admitted.

22. 戶北向塔. Mr. Beal ignores the last two or three characters and ends his sentence with "the gate of which faces the north."

To the south of the pagoda there is a stone pillar, fourteen or fifteen feet in circumference, and thirty odd feet in height. On it there is an inscription as follows:—"King A-yu presented Yen-fu-t'i to the priesthood and redeemed it again with money. He did this three²³ times." Three or four hundred paces to the north of the pagoda king A-yu built the city of Ni-li.²⁴ In it there is a stone pillar, also about thirty feet in height. On the top of it there is a lion, and on the pillar there is an inscription giving the origin of the city of Ni-li, and the year, month, and day (on which the inscription was written).²⁵

CHAPTER XXVIII.

From this point going south-east nine *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at a small Ku-shih¹ hill, on the top of which there was a stone chamber facing the south. When Buddha was seated within, the heavenly ruler Shih on this spot edified him with celestial music, playing there for a considerable time on the lute for Buddha's enjoy-

23. 如是三反. Mr. Beal says "four times."

24. Klaproth can find "nulle autre mention de cette ville." Mr. Beal identifies it with Nāla.

25. For this Mr. Beal says "(he) also engraved an historical record on the front of the pillar, giving an account of the successive events connected with the city of Ni-li (sic), with the corresponding year, day, and month." The text has simply 柱上有銘記作泥犁城因緣及年數日月. The *yu-yen* of a city is merely its *raison d'être*, and is correctly rendered in Roussat's translation. The date given *must* be that of the completion of the city, but is more probably that of the day on which the inscription was engraved on the pillar put up in commemoration of its completion.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. Literally, "orphan stone,"—a common name for solitary hills. Mr. Beal says "a small rocky hill."

ment². He then proceeded to ask Buddha forty-two questions, writing them all down one after another upon a stone with his finger. The traces of this writing still exist³. Here there is also a monastery. From this

2. As this passage cost us a considerable amount of time and thought, and as the results obtained differ essentially from those previously put forward by Messrs. Rémusat and Beal, we will place all three before the indulgent reader, accompanied by the text, and, in our own case, by authorities for translating various characters as we have done.

佛坐其中天帝釋將天樂般遮彈
琴樂佛處 Rémusat originally rendered this "Foe s'y étant assis, le roi du ciel Chy, avec les musiciens célestes, y fit exécuter le *Pan teha*, et pincer du *khan* en l'honneur du Bouddha." Klaproth altered this to "Foe s'y étant assis, le roi du ciel Chy y fit pincer du *khan* par les musiciens célestes *Pan teha*, en l'honneur du Bouddha," and states in his note that he can find no "éclaircissement" on the term *Pan teha*. Mr. Beal now enters the field with "On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the Divine Sakra took with him his attendant musicians, each one provided with a five-stringed lute, and caused them to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was seated." Mr. Beal, contrary to his word, has attempted to express the last and somewhat unimportant character 處 which had been ignored by Rémusat and Klaproth, and of which we can offer no more satisfactory explanation than is implied rather than expressed in our own translation, namely, that where Shih played, there he asked his forty-two questions. But he makes a school-boy blunder over 中 which only means *inside* and not necessarily *in the middle* of the chamber. As for the rest, Mr. Beal dances lightly over it without note or comment as if there was no difficulty whatever about it. We will now account for our own version: "When Buddha was seated within, the heavenly ruler Shih 將 taking 天樂 celestial music 般 gave him pleasure, 遮 very much 彈 striking 琴 the lute 樂 (here *l'*) to delight 佛 Buddha." Reference to Kang Hsi's dictionary will shew the characters 般 and 遮 used in the sense in which we have ventured to understand them.

3. 畫跡故在 or "The *prints* of these marks still exist," as Mr. Beal should translate it if he would lay any claim to scholarship. We are astonished that he did not here detect his own mis-reading of transcribing 故 *prints*.

point going south-west one *yu-yen*, they arrived at the village of Na-lo⁴, the birth-place of She-li-fo,⁵ and the village to which he returned to enter Nirvana. Therefore a pagoda was erected here, which is still in existence. From this point going west one *yu-yen*, they arrived at the new city of Wang-she⁶ which was built by king A-shē-shih, and in which there are two monasteries. Three hundred paces outside the west gate, king A-shē-shih, having obtained a share of Buddha's remains, built a lofty, spacious, and handsome pagoda. Four *li* to the south of the city they entered a valley stretching away southwards⁷ and arrived at (a space) within five hills. The five hills surround it, giving the appearance of a walled city. It was (the site of) King P'ing-sha's⁸ old city, which was five or six *li* from east to west and seven or eight *li* from north to south. The place where She-li-fo and Mu-lien first saw Ngo-pi:⁹ where the Ni-chien-tzu¹⁰ made a fire-pit and, poisoning the food, invited Buddha; where king A-shē-shih¹¹ gave wine to a black elephant in order to injure Buddha; where, at the north-east corner of the city¹² Ch'i-chiu¹³ built a shrine in An-p'o-lo's

4. Nālandagāma. *Beal*.

5. Sāṁputra.

6. Rājagṛha. *Revue et.*

7. The 南向 here seems to refer rather to the position of the valley than to the route of the pilgrims.

8. Dharmasīra. *Revue et.*

9. Asvagh. *Upi va ā chevala. Révue et.*

10. A Nigraṇtha, or eunuch, named Sugupta. *Beal*, from *Jāliṇ*.

11. Hsün Tsung ascribes this crime to Dvāputta. *Revue et.*

12. The text has 城東北角曲中. We can make nothing satisfactory out of the first two characters. Mr. Beal renders them by "in the middle of a crooked denle," and Kluge skips them without saying so.

13. "The physician Djivaka. *Beal*.

garden, and having invited Buddha with his 1250 disciples made offerings to them;—these places still exist.¹ The city is a waste; there are no inhabitants.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Entering the valley and bearing round¹ the mountains to the south-west for fifteen *li*, the pilgrims arrived at the Chi-sho-chueh² hill. Three *li* from its summit there is a cave in the rock facing south, where Buddha formerly sat in meditation. Thirty paces to the north-east there is another cave in the rock in which A-nan sat in meditation. The evil spirit Po-hsun,³ having changed himself into a vulture, stood before the cave to frighten A-nan. Buddha by his supernatural power pierced the rock, and stretching out his hand stroked⁴ A-nan's shoulder. His

14. "Mr. Beal still persists in talking about 'rooms' which here could only be the *li* of the *shaine*, whereas the word 'exist' in the text refers to all the above-mentioned *places* which are still pointed out.

CHINESE TEXT.

1. The text has 繞山東南上十五里. Mr. Beal gives skirting the mountain—along their south-eastern slope. The first character seems to be a misprint for 轉; of 上 we can make nothing very satisfactory.

2. Chapter XXVIII, note 4.

3. "Un des noms de *Môra*" *Résumé*.

4. Here we have one of Mr. Beal's unaccountable slips, not from sense, grammar, rhythm, and everything that should be before in view by free and literal translators alike. The text, too, is supposed to enliven even the mighty Khyroth, it is as follows—舒手摩阿難肩怖即得止. Yet Mr. Beal has, "with his outstretched hand touched the head of Anand." On this he here upbraids his fear and found peace"—adding in a note to make it ten times worse. "I here translate 'ma' (摩) by 'touched the head,' and 'kan' (肩) the shoulder by 'able to bear.'" Really, however, he rendered "touched the shoulder" for a *ma* in which the fear

fear was thus allayed. The marks of the bird and the hole for (Buddha's) hand are still to be seen; hence the name "Vulture-cave-hill." In front of the cave is the spot where the four Buddhas sat down, and also the caves where each of the Lo-hans sat in meditation, several hundred in all. Also the place where Tiao-ta standing among the rocks on the north of the mountain wickedly wounded Buddha on the toe with a stone⁵ as he was walking up and down in front of the cave. The stone is still in existence. The hall in which Buddha preached has been destroyed; nothing but the foundations of the brick walls remain. The peaks of this mountain are picturesque and imposing;⁶ it is the highest of the five. Fa Hsien having bought incense, flowers, oil, and lamps in the New city, hired two mendicants, who knew the way, to carry them.⁷ He then went up the Chi-shu-chuch

was immediately allayed." As if there could possibly be any other way of translating this passage, least of all that which Mr. Beal adopts in his text. For 舒 is here an active verb, 摩 never means "to touch the head," the rhythm of both halves of the sentence would be utterly destroyed by putting on a stop at 難, the phrase 肩怖 "to bear up against fear" is unknown to the Chinese language, and "found peace" is a gloss on the text which there was not the slightest necessity for inserting in a plain unvarnished narrative.

5. The text has 調達於山北嶮巖間橫擲石傷佛足指. Mr. Beal says, "Devadatta, standing on the mountain between the northern eminences, rolled down athwart his path a stone which wounded a toe of Buddha's foot." What authority Mr. Beal has for his "northern eminences" he does not condescend to tell us, and we must therefore reject his somewhat violent separation of 北 from 山. The character 擲 never means "to roll down," and 橫 need not necessarily be taken in its literal sense "athwart."

6. An excellent rendering of 其山峰秀端嚴 which we have borrowed word for word from Mr. Beal.

7. Mr. Beal is quite wrong with his "procured the assistance of

hill and made offerings of flowers and incense, and burnt lamps all night.⁹ (There) his feelings overcame him, but he restrained his tears⁹ and said, "Buddha formerly "lived here, and delivered the Shou-lêng-yen.¹⁰ I, Fa "Hsien, being born (at a time when I could) not meet "Buddha, can only gaze upon his traces and his dwelling- "place." Whereupon he chanted the Shou-lêng-yen in front of the cave. He remained one night and returned to the New city.¹¹

two aged Bikshus to accompany him to the top of the peak." The text has 倩二舊比丘送. Now 舊 means "long resident," and therefore may be held to imply that they knew the way: it never signifies "aged," which by the way would be the very last qualification in the world for a mountain guide. 送 is to transport things as well as to conduct people, and the former is unquestionably its meaning here. Mr. Beal's error has arisen from imitating Klaproth's wrong punctuation. A full stop at 送 makes the passage simple enough.

8. 然燈續明. Mr. Beal treats us to "and lit his lamps, so that their combined lustre illuminated the gloom of the cave." Apart from the utter Lord Baulgism of this sentence, we may remark that if Mr. Beal had read a few of the proclamations against gambling, so frequently issued in China, he would have discovered that 續明 may be roughly rendered by the words of a well-known Bacchanalian lyric—"till daylight doth appear."

9. Mr. Beal has "Fah Hian was deeply moved, even till the tears coursed down his cheeks," which is the exact opposite of what we are told in the text. 慨然悲傷收淚而言.

10. The name of a well-known Sutra.

11. This sentence forms a striking instance of Klaproth's ignorance of the Chinese language and a singular want of common sense on the part of Mr. Beal. We will presume that the reader knows the division of the *Fo Luo chi* into chapters to be purely arbitrary, and the work first of Remusat, afterwards of Klaproth; the original being one continuous narrative from beginning to end. Now Klaproth chose to end one chapter in the middle of a sentence, so to speak, and to carry on the remainder to the beginning of the next chapter. The result is of course ludicrous, but Mr. Beal has not noticed the absurdity and has followed faithfully in the beaten track. The text

CHAPTER XXX.

About three hundred paces to the north of the Old City, on the west side of the road, the pilgrims arrived at the Bamboo Garden shrine of Chia-lan-t'o,¹ which is still in existence, and is swept and sprinkled by priests. Two or three *li* to the north of shrine is the Shih-mo-she-na or, in Chinese, the field of tombs for throwing in² the dead. Rounding³ the southern hill and going three hundred paces south, there is a stone chamber called the Pin-po-lo⁴ cave. Buddha frequently sat in meditation here after his meals. Six *li* further west, on the north side of the hill and (consequently) in the shade, there is a stone chamber called Chu-ti,⁵ where, after the Nirvana of Buddha, the 500 Lo-hans compiled the Ching. When the Ching were brought out,⁶ three empty seats were prepared

give- 停止一宿還向新城出舊城北, etc. Mr. Beal translates "and remained there the entire night.—Chapter XXX. Returning towards the New City, after passing through the old town, etc." The unfortunate ending of Chapter XXIX at 宿 makes nonsense of the beginning of chapter XXX.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. Kulan-la, the squirrel which saved a king's life by making a noise in his ear when a snake was approaching. *Beal*, quoting *Manual of Buddhism*.

2. Mr. Beal says "laying." But 棄 has a stronger and more repulsive meaning than that.

3. Here we have the character 搏 which we can only consider, with the 搏 above mentioned, as a misprint for 轉.

4. Mr. Beal says Jumen renders this the "Pipal cave," but tells us nothing further as to its meaning.

5. Mr. Beal says in a note, "This is plainly the Sattapanni cave of the Mahayana."

6. 出經時 for which Mr. Beal gives "At the time when the books were recited." We do not know this meaning of 出.

and very handsomely decorated. The one on the left was for Shè-li-fu, and the one on the right for Mn-lien. Out of the five hundred one Lo-han was wanting, and just as the great Chia-yeh was mounting his throne, A-nan was outside the door unable to enter. A pagoda was built on this spot which is still in existence. Surrounding the mountain, there are also a great number of caves where the Lo-hans used to sit in meditation. Issuing from the north of the old city and going east three *li*, there is Tiao-ta's cave, fifty paces from which there is a great square black rock. Formerly, a mendicant priest walking backwards and forwards on the top, reflected as follows:—"The sorrows of life are of short duration. In "death there is defilement. I loathe this body." Thereupon he seized a knife with the intention of killing himself; but again he reflected, "The world-honoured One has "set his canon against self-slaughter;" and further "although this is so, I now only desire to slay the three "baneful thieves."^s He then took the knife and cut his throat. At the beginning of the cut he became a Hsu-

7. Mr. Beal puts what the Bikshu said in the *oratio obliqua* for no particular reason that we can see except the uncourteous one that he did not thoroughly understand the text. We have 思惟是身無常苦空得不淨觀厭患是身. For this Mr. Beal gives the following marvellous production.—"meditating on the impermanency, the sorrow, and vanity of his present life. Arriving thus at an unsound state of mind, disgusted at the sorrows of life, he drew etc." Where Mr. Beal gets his "unsound state of mind" from is more than we can say. The defilement to be feared after death is of course the corruption of the body. But we must refer the reader to chapters xviii and xxxii where the same phrase occurs.

8. "Raga, dwesa, moha—evil desire, hatred, ignorance" *Beal*

9. Here Mr. Beal evidently mistranslates. He says "On the first gash"; but it is clear from the text that there was only one cut.

t'o-hun;¹⁰ when half through, an A-na-han;¹¹ when quite through, a Lo-han; whereupon he entered Nirvana.

CHAPTER XXXI.

From this point going west four *yu-chen*, the pilgrims arrived at the city of Chia-yeh,¹ also a complete waste within its walls. Journeying ten more *li* to the south, they arrived at the place where Bodhisatva formerly passed six years in self-mortification. There is a wood there. From this point going west three *li*, they arrived at the spot where Buddha entered the water to bathe, and a god pressed² down the branch of a tree to pull him out of the pool. Also, by going two *li* north, at the place where the two lay-sisters³ presented Buddha with milk and rice-water. Two *li* to the north of this, Buddha, sitting on a stone under a great tree and facing the east, ate the milk

10. Srotapanna. "Class of those Buddhists who have entered the stream of Buddhist conduct." *Lidma.*

11. Anagami. The class of those who being freed from faults do not come again into the world of death and deception.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. Gaya. *Rémusat.*

2. Mr. Beal says "the Deva *held out* the branch of a tree," which gives quite a wrong idea of what happened. The verb 按 means *to press or to hold down*, and the reference here is to a branch on a tree, not to a piece broken off.

3. 彌家女奉佛乳糜處. On this sentence Klaproth says in a note, "M. Rémusat, prenant *Mi* lui pour un nom propre" translated accordingly. He himself altered Rémusat's version into "les filles des familles riches", explaining in a note "qui se sont éloignées du monde." Mr. Beal gives "the village-girls," and says they were the daughters of Súpita, the lord of the village of Ourovilva; but this may be quite true and at the same time throw no light on the use of the character 彌. Our own explanation is that 彌家 is a not uncommon synonym for 僧家, and that the two women were members of a kind of *religieuse* such as was proposed

and rice-water.¹ The tree and the stone are both there still; the latter being about six feet in length and breadth by over two feet in height. In Central India the heat and cold are equally divided; trees will live² several thousand, and even so much as ten thousand years. From this point going north-east half a *yu-yen*, the pilgrims arrived at the cave where Bodhisatva, having entered, sat down cross-legged with his face to the west and reflected as follows:—"If I attain perfect Wisdom, there should "be some miracle (in token thereof)." Whereupon the silhouette of Buddha appeared upon the stone, over three feet in length, and is plainly visible to this day. Then Heaven and Earth quaked mightily, and the gods who were in space cried out, saying, "This is not the "place where past and future Buddhas have attained and "should attain perfect Wisdom. The proper spot is beneath the Pei-to tree, less than half a *yu-yen* to the "south-west of this." When the gods had uttered these words, they proceeded to lead the way with singing in order to conduct him thither. Bodhisatva got up and followed, and when thirty paces from the tree a god gave him the Chi-hsiang grass.³ Having accepted this he went to Queen Catharine previous to her divorce from Henry VIII. These "lay sisters" do not shave their heads like the female priestesses 尼姑, though they live entirely on a vegetable diet and are otherwise supposed to lead religious lives.

4. Mr. Beal says that Buddha here "eat (sic) the rice and milk." Rémusat gives "*du riz au lait*." The character 糜 signifies what is commonly known in China as *congee*.

5. Mr. Beal wrongly makes this statement a consequence of the equal heat and cold, coining a conjunction that has no existence in the text.

6. 吉祥草. Mr. Beal gives, "the grass of Katsenig (Santi), apparently as if Katsenig was the Chinese transcription of Santi. Taken literally it is merely the "lily grass" (grass).

on fifteen paces farther, when five hundred dark-coloured birds came and flew three times round him, and departed. Bôdhisatva went on to the Pei-to tree, and laying down his Chi-hsiang grass sat down with his face to the east. Then the king of the devils sent three beautiful women⁷ to approach from the north and tempt him; he himself approaching from the south with the same object. Bôdhisatva pressed⁸ the ground with his toe, whereupon the infernal army retreated in confusion and the three woman became old. From the above-mentioned place where Buddha suffered mortification for six years (downwards⁹),—on all these spots men of after ages have built pagodas and set up images, all of which are still in existence. Where Buddha, having attained perfect Wisdom contemplated the tree for seven days, experiencing the joys of emancipation;¹⁰ where Buddha walked backwards and forwards under the Pei-to tree for seven days; where the gods produced a jewelled chamber and worshipped Buddha for seven days; where the beautiful—
 given to Buddha, as Mr. Spence Hardy tells us, by the Brahman Santi.

7. 三玉女, for which Mr. Beal gives "three pleasure girls." We suspect this to be a gloss of his own. 玉 is invariably used, as far as we know, in a good sense; it is even occasionally taken as a synonym of 處子, and here seems to express simply the good looks of the three women without reference to their morals. In this view we are borne out by the use of the character 老 old in the next sentence.

8. Here again Mr. Beal mis-translates 按 "struck the ground with his toe."

9. That is, through the text. We have translated this sentence too literally for the general reader, but perhaps not too much so for the student who would understand the original word for word.

10. We have borrowed Mr. Beal's happy rendering of 受解脫樂.

scaled blind dragon¹¹ walked round Buddha for seven days; where Buddha sat facing the east on a square stone beneath the Ni-chu-lu tree and Brahma came to salute him; where the four heavenly kings offered their alms-bowls;¹² where the five hundred traders gave him cooked rice¹³ and honey; where he converted Chia-yeh and his brothers, master and disciples to the number of one thousand souls;¹⁴—on all these spots pagodas have been raised. At the place where Buddha attained perfect Wisdom there are three monasteries, all inhabited by priests. The priests and people gave (the pilgrims) what food they required without stint.¹⁵ The strictness with

11. So Rémusat has it. Mr. Beal, however, strikes out a path for himself with "where the blind dragon Manlun." The text has 文鱗盲龍, and therefore Mr. Beal's "Manlun" must be represented in the text by the first two characters *wen lin*. At the same time, Manlun seems much more like the last two characters which are actually read *mang lung*, but of course mean "blind dragon."

12. Which he changed, by a miracle, into one, so as to cause no disappointment by his acceptance of either. See *ante*.

13. Or "cooked wheat." This passage is quoted in Kang Hsi's dictionary under the character 粝, explained by 稊 or 熬米粝. Rémusat gives "riz grillé" which is the first of these two; Mr. Beal says "wheat" which is neither.

14. The text has 度迦葉兄弟師徒千人處. Mr. Beal has apparently taken 師 as a verb,—"each of whom was at the head of 1,000 disciples." Whatever the facts of the case may be, the text seems to point only to a *total* of 1,000 men.

15. The text has 衆僧民戶供給饒足無所乏少. For this Mr. Beal, following Rémusat, gives "All the ecclesiastics are supplied with necessaries by the people, so that they have sufficient and lack nothing." That is to say, Mr. Beal makes 衆僧 the dative case and 民戶 the nominative, putting them out much as if the sentence was a Latin verse, and utterly ignoring the fundamental principle that "the whole of Chinese grammar depends upon position." Fa Hsien is evidently, as elsewhere, alluding to the help given to himself and his companions.

which, while Buddha was still alive, the holy brotherhood observed the Disciplines and a decorous manner of sitting, rising, and entering the company of others, is the same to this day¹⁶. From the Nirvana of Buddha to the present time, the sites of the four great pagodas have been handed down¹⁷ (by tradition) without a break. The four great pagodas were (1) on the spot where Buddha was born, (2) where he attained perfect Wisdom, (3) where he turned the wheel of the Law,¹⁸ and (4) where he entered Nirvana.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Formerly, when king A-yu was a boy, and was playing in the road, he met Shih-chia Buddha out begging. The boy was pleased, and gave him a handful of earth as alms. Buddha took it and threw it down¹ on the ground where he exercised himself. In return for this act the

16. The unusually long protasis of this sentence has been curtailed by Mr. Beal. He makes a separate clause of the first half.

17. The text has simply 相承不絕. For this Mr. Beal gives "Have always been associated together," which, apart from its circumsusness, is more difficult to understand than the very text itself.

18. That is, preached.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The text has 佛持還泥經行地. Mr. Beal gives "Buddha received it, and on his return sprinkled it on the ground on which he took his exercise." He thus takes 還 in its sense of "going home," and makes a verb of 泥. This seemed so plausible that we were nearly adopting it without question. On reconsideration, however, we prefer to submit another version so that the reader may choose for himself. In this 還泥 is taken to signify "returned it to the dirt."

boy became an "iron-wheel"² king and ruled over Yen-ti. On assuming the iron-wheel he made a royal progress³ through Yen-fu-t'i, and saw between the two hills T'ieh and Wei⁴ a hell for punishing wicked people. The king then asked his suite "What is the meaning of this?" They answered "It is Yen-lo, the king of the devils, "punishing wicked people." The king, having reflected, said "So even the king of the devils can make a hell for "punishing wicked people.⁵ I am a ruler of *men*, why "should not I make a hell for punishing wicked people—"ch?" He then asked his officers "Who is able to make "a hell for me, and to superintend the punishment of the "wicked?" They replied "Only a very bad man could "do this." The king accordingly sent officers to search in all directions for a bad man. They saw⁶ by the side of

2. A Chakravarti.

3. 案行. Mr. Beal says "going (through Janulandwipa) in the administration of justice." But the words we have italicized do not convey the correct meaning of 案行 which thus applied, as now to the Governor of a province, would merely mean a tour of inspection and not a judicial circuit.

4. Mr. Beal, copying Rémusat, and regardless of the great principle we alluded to in note 15 of the last chapter, translates the names of these hills by "surrounded by an iron wall"—meaning, of course, the hell. The text has 見鐵圍兩山間地獄治罪人. If the meaning were what Mr. Beal gives 鐵圍 would immediately precede 地獄 and not be separated as they now are.

5. The text has 鬼王尙能地獄治罪人, the force of which is quite lost in Mr. Beal's "The Demon king, in the exercise of his function, requires to have a place of punishment for wicked men." The important character 尙 is thus totally lost.

6. This elliptical abruptness is one reason, many specimens of the terse ruggedness of Fa Hsien's style which we have endeavored to preserve in our translation rather than a more modern elegant style, which have been calculated in the original.

the I⁷ a tall, burly man, of a black colour, with yellow hair and dark eyes.⁸ He used his feet to hook up fish,⁹ and his mouth to whistle to birds and beasts; and when they came he would shoot or slay them; none ever escaped him. When they had got this man, he was brought before the king who secretly instructed him as follows:—"You make a square of four high walls, and in it plant all kinds of flowers and fruit, with beautiful vales and pools, and decorate it so exquisitely that people shall long to gaze upon it. Make a gate to the enclosure,¹⁰ and when any one enters, seize him directly and administer punishment according to his deserts.¹¹ Do not let him get out. If you catch me going in, punish me in the same way, and do not let me go. I now salute you as the ruler of hell." A mendicant going round collecting alms, entered this door, and when the

7. 見泄水邊. Mr. Beal gives. "They saw, by the side of a running stream." But 泄 is more probably the name of the stream; at any rate, some authority would be necessary to sanction Mr. Beal's (and Rémusat's) rendering.

8. Mr. Beal says "red hair and light eyes." The text has 髮黃眼青, and as the last character expresses several shades it is only fair to translate it, in a doubtful case, by the most common of its meanings, which would be *dark green*.

9. Closely translating Rémusat's translation, Mr. Beal has made a mess of a not very difficult passage—以脚釣兼魚口呼禽獸—as follows—"with feet like talons, and a mouth like that of a fish. When he whistled to the birds and beasts, etc." That is to say, Mr. Beal puts a full stop at 口, instead of a comma at 魚, making 口 dependant on 以. There can be doubt about the correctness of our reading.

10. Mr. Beal says, "Then, having made a *nude* gate,"—牢足門戶.

11. 種種治罪, which Mr. Beal erroneously renders "subject him to every kind of infernal torture."

attendants¹² saw him they at once seized him in order to administer punishment. The mendicant was very frightened, and pleaded "Give me a few moments that I may eat my midday meal." Meanwhile, some one came in, and the attendants threw him into a mortar and pounded him till he foamed blood¹³ (at the mouth). The mendicant, seeing this, reflected:—"The sorrows of life are of short duration: dying, it is like a bubble or like froth."¹⁴ Thereupon he became a Lo-han, and¹⁵ when the attendants seized him to throw him into a cauldron of boiling water, the mendicant's heart was exceeding glad, the fire was extinguished and the hot water became cold, a lotus-flower growing up in the middle on which the mendicant sat down. The attendants at once went and said the king, "Something wonderful has occurred in the hell; we pray Your Majesty to go and see." The king said, "I formerly made an agreement; now I dare not go." The attendants said "This is no small matter: Your Majesty ought to go at once; the former agreement is cancelled." The king therefore entered in, and the mendicant having prayed for him, he believed and was made free (of sin). Thereupon he destroyed

12. 獄卒—a common phrase for the attendant devils who carry out the punishments of Purgatory. Vide the 玉歷鈔. Mr. Beal takes it to mean the lately-appointed keeper.

13. 擣之赤沫出, which Mr. Beal translates "till a red froth formed on the surface of the mass."

14. Regarding this sentence, which we have been much tempted to translate à la Beal—vaguely, we must refer the reader to Chapter XXX, Note 7.

15. Mr. Beal puts a full stop at Lohan, and translates the next two characters 既而 by "Thus having transpired," evidently having no very clear idea as to the meaning of the word we have italicised, which if anything, should have been *occurred* or *taken place*.

the hell and repented of all the wickednesses he had previously committed, and from that time forth believed in and venerated the Three Precious Ones,¹⁶ often going beneath the Pei-to tree to repent him of his faults, to reproach himself, and pass the time in fasting.¹⁷ The queen asked where her husband went so frequently and the courtiers replied, "He is frequently under the Pei-to tree." The queen waited until the king was away from the tree, and then sent men to cut it down. When the king came and saw this, stupified with grief he fell down on the ground. His ministers threw water on his face, and after a long time he came round. Thereupon, he banked it up on all sides with bricks,¹⁸ and poured a hundred pitchers of cow's-milk on the roots, throwing himself at full length on the ground and making this vow:—"If the tree does not live, I will never rise." When he had thus vowed, the tree began to grow at the top of its roots,¹⁹ and exists to this day. It is now rather less than 100 feet high.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

From this point going south three *li*, the pilgrims ar-

16. The Buddhist Trinity. See *ante*.

17. The text has 受八齋, the second character being probably a misprint for 入. At the same time, we may mention that a category of "eight abstinences" does actually exist.

18. 博. Not "piled up the earth" as Mr. Beal gives it.

19. 根上而生. Mr. Beal has "(the tree) began to grow from its roots,"—according to which the original tree must be supposed to die, to save which was the king's object in bricking and watering. The text is inadequate, but the meaning is clear. When the part cut off was replaced over its roots still in the ground, in which position it was maintained by the bricks, the whole tree miraculously went on growing from the top

rived at a mountain called Chi-tsu.¹ The great Chia-yeh is at present in this mountain. He split the mountain to get in. The place where he entered will barely admit a man.² Going down to a great distance there is a niche³ in which stands a full-length image of Chia-yeh. Outside the niche is the place where he used to wash his hands, and the people of the district, if they have the headache, use the earth (from that spot) for plasters, and are at once cured. Therefore, since that time⁴ there have been Lo-hans on this mountain, and when the devotees of the neighbouring countries come yearly to make their offerings to Chia-yeh, the Lohans appear by night to the steadfast⁵ ones, converse with them, and resolve of its old roots upwards through the joining, as if nothing had happened.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. 鷄足 or "Cock's Foot" (*Kukutapada* (Sri. *Foot*))

2. The text has 入處不容人, which Mr. Beal cautiously and erroneously paraphrases by "this entrance is not closed up." First of all this is not the meaning, and secondly Mr. Beal has been led astray by Klaproth's false punctuation, thereby including the first two characters (下入) of the following sentence.

3. 旁孔 or "side hole," out of which Mr. Beal gets "a deep 'chasm,'" and in which he places "*entire body* of Kasyapa." But the words we have italicised are in the original 全身—a common term for a "full-length" image.

4. The text has 此山中即日故有 etc. Klaproth translates 日故 by "at sunset," and takes good care to say nothing about it. Mr. Beal gives "as soon as the sun begins to decline," adding in a note that the phrase 即日故 "is a most unusual expression." We venture to go farther and doubt its correctness altogether. 即日 is certainly not "unusual"; neither is 故有, and we deem it safer to translate accordingly, without seeking for more than lies upon the very surface of the text.

5. 心濃至者, which Mr. Beal translates Réna et, renders

their doubts. They then suddenly vanish. On this mountain there are quantities of trees; also a great many lions, tigers, and wolves, so that travellers have to be cautious.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Fa Hsien returning to the city of Pa-lien-fo, followed the Ganges ten *yu-yen* to the west and arrived at a shrine called Kuang-yeh,¹ where Buddha formerly lived, and which still has its priests. Again following the Ganges twelve *yu-yen* towards the west, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Chia-shih² and the city of Po-lo-nai. About ten *li* to the north-east of the city is the wild-deer park of the Immortals.³ A P'i-chih Buddha once lived here, and wild deer often came⁴ hither to pass the night. When the world-honoured One was about to attain perfect Wisdom, the gods in space sang these words:—"The son of king Pai-cheng left his home to learn Wisdom; seven days hence he will become a Buddha." The P'i-chih Buddha, hearing this, immediately entered Nirvana; hence this place was named the wild-deer park of the Immortals. When the world-honoured One had entered Nirvana, a shrine was subsequently raised upon this spot.

"distressed with doubts," or the exact opposite of the real meaning. The principle here expressed is the same as that of modern spiritualism, namely, that manifestations are only discernible by believers. The "doubts" mentioned lower down are such as might occur to any one without impugning his fidelity to the creed.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. 曠野.
2. Kasi, and its city of Benares. *Réaumasat*.
3. 仙人, or *Rishis*.
4. Mr. Beal wrongly puts this in the present tense.

Buddha wishing to convert Chu-lin and the others, five in all,⁵ these five said among themselves, "The Shaman Ch'ü-t'an⁶ practised self-mortification for six years, living "on a single hemp-seed⁷ and one grain of rice daily, but "was unable to attain perfect wisdom. Moreover,⁸ he has "gone back into the world and given himself up to lust, "evil-speaking, and evil scheming. What Wisdom is there "in this? When he comes to-day, let us carefully avoid "speaking with him." On the spot where when Buddha arrived the five men all got up and saluted him; also, sixty paces to the north where Buddha sat facing the east, and by his preaching converted Chu-lin and the rest of the five; where, twenty paces to the north of this, Buddha communicated the prophecy concerning Mi-lo;⁹ and where, fifty paces to the south, the dragon I-lo-po asked Buddha "When shall I be freed from this dragon "body?"—on all these spots pagodas have been raised. There are now two monasteries in the (park), both inhabited by priests. Journeying thirteen *yu-gen* to the north-west of the deer-park shrine, there is a country

5. The ascetics who had remained with him during the six years mentioned below.

6. Gautama.

7. Mr. Beal says "one grain of millet." But the text has 一麻.

8. The following sentence reads 况入人間恣身口意. The last three characters are often collectively expressed, as in chapter XXX, by 三賊, or by 三毒 or 三孽. For the above text Mr. Beal gives an almost exact translation of Remusat—"how much less shall he now obtain that condition, by entering into men's society and removing the checks he placed upon his words and thoughts and actions." But for "how much less" we should require 何況 and not simply 况.

9. That he, Maitrêya, should succeed him. B.

called Chu-shan-mi.¹⁰ The shrine there is called the "garden of Chu-shih-lo,"¹¹ and was formerly inhabited by Buddha; for which reason¹² there are priests there, now, chiefly of the Lesser Development. Going eastwards eight *yu-yen* is the place where Buddha converted the evil spirits;¹³ also the spots where he walked and sat down when he dwelt here, on all of which pagodas have been raised. There are also monasteries with perhaps over a hundred priests.

CHAPTER XXXV.

From this point travelling south two hundred *yu-yen*, there is a country called Ta-ch'in.¹ Here is a monastery of the former Buddha Chia-yeh, made by hollowing out a great rock. It has five storeys in all; the lowest being made in the form of an elephant, with five hundred stone chambers; the second like a lion, with four hundred; the third like a horse, with three hundred; the fourth like an ox, with two hundred; and the fifth like a dove, with one hundred. At the very top there is a spring of water which

10. Kāūsāmbi. *Remusat*. The second character is read *shan* (= 閼), and not *ch'ing* as Mr. Beal gives it.

11. Gōhira. *Beal*.

12. Here we have Mr. Beal's favourite blunder in a most outrageous form. Apropos of the garden we have 佛昔住處今故有僧. For this Mr. Beal gives " * * in which Buddha formerly dwelt; it is now lying in ruins. There are congregations here, etc." But he has to forge the adverb "here" to make sense, there being no "here" in the text.

13. Or "an evil demon," as Mr. Beal renders it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. Deccan. *Remusat*.

runs in front of each chamber and encircles each storey round and round, in and out, until it reaches the bottom storey where, following the configuration² of the building, it flows out at the door. In the chambers³ on every storey windows have here and there been bored in the rock to admit light, so that it is quite bright in them and nowhere dark. In the four corners of this building the rock has been bored and steps made in the stone for getting to the top. At present⁴ people ascend by a small flight of steps made in a similar way, and thus reach the spot where some one in olden times left a footprint. Therefore this temple was named Po-lo-yueh, which is the Indian name for a dove. In it there are constantly Lo-hans residing. The land⁵ is uncultivated and there are no

2. 順房. Mr. Beal says "(flowing) past the chambers as before."

3. Mr. Beal gives "in various parts of the building," which is not an accurate rendering of 室中處處.

4. This sentence is worth transcribing.—今人形小緣梯上正得至昔人一脚所躡處. For this Mr. Beal gives, "Men of the present time point out a small ladder which reaches up to the highest point (of the rock) by which men of old ascended it, one foot at a time." He adds in a note "Rénoussat seems to have mistaken the wording of this passage, but the translation I have given is not satisfactory to myself." We should imagine this last sentiment will be warmly echoed by all students of Chinese; and that such as possess a copy of Rénoussat's translation will see at a glance that his rendering is much nearer the mark than Mr. Beal's. The real difficulty is with 形 which is here used in its less common sense of "imitation." 小緣梯 is "a small *climbing* flight," the second character being a kind of numerative or classifier. The reader will perhaps recall Mencius' celebrated saying 緣木求魚—*climb' a tree to catch fish*.

5. The text has 此土邱荒. Rénoussat says "cette colline est déserte," with which Mr. Beal would have need a better show than with his own "The land is hilly and barren," who he takes 邱 as an adjective. First of all the "classical" 邱荒 is not

inhabitants. Only at a good distance from the mountain are there villages, all (the inhabitants) of which are heretics, and ignorant alike of the Law of Buddha, of Shamans, of Brahmans, and the various sects. They frequently see people come flying and enter the temple; and when some devotees of the neighbouring countries came to pray at this temple, these village-people said to them, "Why do you not fly? All the pilgrims we see here, fly!"⁶ The devotees retorted⁷ "Because we have no wings." The country of Ta-ch'in is mountainous and the roads difficult to travel;⁸ even those who know the way, if they want to go, should send a present of money or goods to the king of the country, who will thereupon depute men to escort them, these passing them on from one (stage) to another and shewing them the short cuts.⁹ Fa Hsien was unable to go thither; he states what he heard from the people of the country.

Chinese; secondly 邱, or 丘, or 坵, is a classifier of land and gives the force of *colle* *at*. Had Remusat changed "colline" into "terre" he would have been all right. The rhythm of the next four characters exactly corresponds:—無人民居。

6 A simple enough sentence:—見我此問道者皆飛。 Yet Mr. Beal goes out of his way, and, we hope, out of everybody else's, to concoct the following—"We behold the religious men *who occupy these chambers* constantly on the wing." And this merely because 間 happens to be the numerative of chambers!

7 道人方便答. Remusat wisely, if disingenuously, omitted the two characters which give the whole point to the devotees' reply. Mr. Beal says "answered by way of excuse." But 方便答 means a quick answer, spoken to the point, a repartee; or as we have expressed it "retorted." Mr. Beal further translates their answer too literally—"Because our wings are not yet perfectly formed."

8. Mr. Beal, closely following Remusat, has here made another wrong *locutio*. The text has 道路艱難而知處欲往者要當. Mr. Beal says "the roads dangerous and difficult to

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Journeying eastwards from the country of Po-lo-nai, the pilgrims came again to Pa-lien-fo. Fa Hsien's object was to get the Disciplines, but in the various countries of northern India they were handed down orally from teacher to teacher, there being no written copy to refer to; and therefore he extended his journey as far as Central India, where in a monastery of the Greater Development he obtained a copy of the Disciplines according to the Ma-ho-seng-chih¹ school, as practised by the first congregation of priests while Buddha was still alive. At² the Chih-hun shrine eighteen and more copies have

find. Those who wish to go there ought, etc," whereby, besides his own blunder of making 知 depend on 難, he slurs over a very neat Chinese idiom. 而 is here the exact equivalent of "et quand même" in French; and the 者 makes a substantive of 知.

"示其逕路. For this Mr. Beal has "each party pointing out their own roads and intricate bye-paths."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. "School of the Mahāsaṅghikas." *Beal*.

2. We are bound to trouble the reader with the text of this passage—於祇洹精舍傳其本自餘十八部各有師資大歸不異於小小不同或用開塞. Mr. Beal gives, "In the chapel of Chi-un (Jetavana) there is a tradition that this was originally their copy, or, that this school originally sprung from them. The eighteen sects in general have each their own Superior, but they are agreed in their dependence on the Great Refuge (found in Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha). In some minor details of faith they differ as well as in a more or less exact attention to some matters of practice." How Mr. Beal gets at this result is to us a great mystery. He might at any rate have hinted at the difficulty of the passage. We have since referred it to several eminent sinologists; and from one—Mr. Mayers, H. M. Chinese Secretary at Peking—we have received an exhaustive analysis and final settlement of this very puzzling paragraph. See Appendix.

been handed down, each of which has its commentary. The great *kuei* is not different from the small, any trifling discrepancies being rectified by omission or addition. At the same time these are the most comprehensive and complete. He got moreover a manuscript copy of the Disciplines, containing seven thousand stanzas, as used by the Sa-p'o-to³ assembly, and practised by the priests in China. This also has been handed down orally from teacher to teacher without being committed to writing. He further obtained from this assembly extracts from the A-pi-t'an,⁴ amounting to six thousand stanzas; also a copy of the Yen⁵ Sutra, amounting to two thousand five hundred stanzas; also a roll of the Fang-t'eng⁶ Pan-ni-hun Sutra, amounting to five thousand stanzas; and also a copy of the Ma-ho-seng-chih A-pi-t'an. Therefore Fa-Hsien stopped here three years to study the written and spoken languages of Brahma and to copy the Disciplines. Now as to Tao Cheng, when he arrived in the Middle Kingdom and observed the regulations of the Shamans and the grave decorum of the priests, finding them so worthy of notice,⁷ he reflected with a sigh, "In the outer

3. *Sūyāstivāsa*. *Beal*.

4. *Alhoḥama*.

5. 經經 Mr. Beal says "Sūtras in their *abbreviated* form." But K'ang Hsi's dictionary tells us that 經=衍, and the latter means *copied* or *expanded*.

6. Here Mr. Beal says "an expanded volume (*Vāipulya*) of the *Pratimāyā Sūtra*." But the text has 一卷方等般泥洹經, and 方等 being part of the title (see K'ang Hsi), we have no character left for "expanded."

7. 觸事可觀, out of which Mr. Beal gets "even in the midst of worldly references," the same being a gloss of his own and leading to the conclusion that he did not understand the first two characters.

"land of Ch'in (China) the priests have the Commandments and Disciplines imperfect."⁸ He then made this vow, "From this time until I become a Buddha, may I never be born again in a foreign⁹ land." He therefore continued to remain and did not go back. But Fa Hsien's original object was to diffuse a knowledge of the Commandments and Disciplines throughout the land of Han; he therefore went back alone.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Following the course of the Ganges eighteen *yu-yen* to the east, there is on the south bank the large country of Chan-po.¹ Where Buddha's shrine was and where he walked up and down, as well as on the spots where the four Buddhas sat down, pagodas have been built, and priests now live. From this point going east about fifty *yu-yen*, Fa Hsien arrived at the country of To-mo-li-ti,² where there was a sea-port.³ In this country there are

8 Mr. Bed puts this in the *Chinese* text. We believe this is, strictly speaking, incorrect.

9. 邊地, i.e., anywhere but to India. Mr. Bed insists on translating these words, "a frontier country."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. "Telompa, le nom de l'ancienne capitale de Kama, l'ancien pays d'Angadesa" *Remusat*, from which source Mr. Bed's note is evidently condensed, but without acknowledgment.

2. "Tamilapiti, la moderne Tambak, située sur la droite de la rivière Hough, un peu au dessus de son embouchure dans la mer," *Remusat*,—with the same comment that we have in the footnote.

3. 卽是海口, which taken literally and literally it would mean that the 國 country just mentioned was a seaport, but which has evidently the signification given in the text. Mr. Bed translates these four characters "Here it is the sea-port itself into the sea," as already noted by Remusat.

twenty-four monasteries, all with resident priests. The Law of Buddha is also flourishing. Fa Hsien remained here two years copying the Ching and drawing pictures of the images.⁴ He then took passage on a large merchant vessel, and setting sail proceeded towards the south-west with the first⁵ of the winter monsoon. After fourteen days and nights, he arrived at the land of Lions,⁶ said by the inhabitants to be seven hundred *yu-yen* distant (from India). This country is on a great island, and is fifty *yu-yen* from east to west, thirty *yu-yen* from north to south. The small islands round about are nearly one hundred in number, and distant one from the other ten, twenty, and two hundred *li*. They are all subject to the mother island, and produce chiefly⁷ pearls and precious stones. There is one part where the Mo-ni beads⁸ are found; it is about

4. 畫像. for which simple phrase Mr. Bed gives "and taking impressions of the figures used in worship." What this means we are unable to divine, but the original makes it clear enough that he wanted *drawings* of the images to take back with him to China.

5. 得冬初信風. for which Mr. Bed gives "catching the first fair wind of the winter season," evidently taking 初 with 風 instead of with 冬. The last two characters are transposed in conversation.

6. Ceylon.

7. 多出珍寶 etc. for which Mr. Bed gives "Most of them produce precious stones, etc.," which is quite as inaccurate as Bémusat's "On en tire beaucoup de choses précieuses."

8. 摩尼珠. Mr. Bed gives "The Mani gem" which amounts to saying "the gem gem," for this is the signification of Mani. Klaproth had already stated in a note that 珠 meant "en général un joyau;" and also that the jewel intended was a carbuncle and not a pearl, which Mr. Bed re-states as if an independent conjecture of his own. In support of this theory we may add the usual name for a carbuncle, namely, 夜明珠. On the other hand, we do not think that 珠 here means either a pearl or a carbuncle, but simply a bead as in 素珠 or 念珠 a Buddhist rosary.

ten *li* in extent. The king has men to guard it; and if any one finds any, the king takes three out of every ten.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

This country had originally no inhabitants; only devils and spirits¹ and dragons lived in it, with whom the merchants of neighbouring countries came to trade. When the exchange of commodities took place the devils and spirits did not appear in person, but set out their valuables with the prices attached. Then the merchants, according to the prices, bought the things and carried them off. But from the merchants going backwards and forwards and stopping² (on their way), the attractions of the place became known to the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries who also went there, and thus it became a great nation. The temperature is very agreeable³ in this country; there is no distinction of summer and winter. The trees and plants are always green, and cultivation of the

though we do not mean to imply that they were formally shaped in the form of beads. Mr. Beal makes some point by calling to the recollection of his readers the formula "Ona manna padma hana."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. Mr. Beal omits 神, probably considering it a part of 鬼.
2. 因商人來往住. Mr. Beal makes 住 "the sojourn of the merchant in the country," that is, in Ceylon. But this would not have caused "the attractions of the place" to become known, 住 is awkwardly placed, and only seems intelligible in the sense in which we have taken it.
3. 其國和適. Mr. Beal gives, "This country enjoys an equable climate" which is the same translation that he gives in another place of 調和 though the two phrases differ widely in meaning. 和適 means what suits people, something like 合式, as we see in such phrases as 適我願兮.

soil is carried on as men please, without regard to seasons. Buddha came to this country desiring to reform a wicked dragon, and by his supernatural power placed one foot to the north of the royal city, and the other on the top of a mountain, being fifteen *yu-yen* apart. Over the impression to the north of the royal city a great pagoda has been built, 400 feet in height, decorated with gold and silver and all the precious substances combined.⁴ By the side of the pagoda a monastery has also been built, called Wu-wei-shan,⁵ where there are five thousand priests; besides which there is a Chapel of Buddha of gold and silver carved work with all the precious substances, and in it an image made of dark jade,⁶ over twenty feet in height, the whole of which glitters with the seven preciousities, the countenance being grave and dignified beyond all expression,⁷ and on the right palm a priceless pearl. Fa Hsien had been many years from the land of Han; the people with whom he had been thrown into connection had all been foreigners; the hills, streams, plants, and trees on which his eyes lighted were not those of former times; moreover, those who had travelled with him were separated from him — some having remained behind, and others having died. Now, beholding only his own shadow,⁸ he

4. 衆寶合成, which Mr. Beal glosses thus:—"and every precious substance combines to *make it perfect*," the italicised words being evidently extracted from 成.

5. 無畏山—"No fear hill."

6. Serpentine.

7. The text has 威相嚴顯非言所載. Mr. Beal gives "whilst the various characteristic marks are so gloriously portrayed, that no words can describe the effect." Where this comes from we are unable to say; in our opinion, 相 seems clearly to signify the face of the image.

8. Mr. Beal's translation of the four characters we have thus

was frequently sorrowful at heart; and when suddenly by the side of this jade image he saw a merchant make offering of a white silk fan from China, his feelings⁹ overcame him and his eyes filled with tears. A former king of this country sent envoys to Central India to get seeds¹⁰ of the Pei-to tree, which he planted by the side of the Chapel of Buddha, (and which grew) to the height of two hundred feet.¹¹ As the tree bent over to the south-east, the king feared it would fall, and therefore placed a prop of eight or nine *we*,¹² in circumference

rendered is sufficient to repel any claims he may advance to be considered an authority on the Chinese language. The text has 顧影唯己, and for this Mr. Beal gives us as the meaning,—"to think upon the past was all that was left him!"—with a few more notes of admiration of our own. It is true Mr. Beal has founded his own upon Rénusat's unlucky version "*en réfléchissant au passé*," but the French translation was published in 1836 and Mr. Beal's in 1869. We consider that the idea of Fa Hsien finding only his own shadow remaining out of all those he had been so long accustomed to see, deserved a better treatment than it received at the hands of Mr. Beal.

9. The text has 不覺悽然 etc., over which Mr. Beal makes the blunder of an unbalanced student interpreter. He says "*Un-provided (Fa Hsien) gave way etc.*" But 不覺, we may inform Mr. Beal—for hardly anyone else can need the information—is subjective and not objective. The idea here is that of involuntariness, or spontaneity, and can hardly be translated into English. It occurs again in the last chapter, and there Mr. Beal takes notice of it at all.

10. 貝多子. Mr. Beal says "a slip of the Pei-to tree."

11. It is somewhat tempting to take the tail end of this paragraph and make it the beginning of the next, as Mr. Beal does—"When it was about 220 feet high, the tree began to lean etc."—but we do not consider that the text admits this reading.

12. Mr. Beal makes a general bungle of this paragraph. The text has here 古以八九圍柱挂樹. Mr. Beal says "(The king) placed eight or nine props round the tree to support it." First of all, if a tree is falling it would be useless to put props *all round it*. Secondly, 圍 placed as it is, could not possibly give this significa-

to support it. Where the tree and prop met, the former shot out and piercing the prop right through to the ground, took root, (the shoot) being about four *wei* in circumference. Although the prop was split, it still encircles the shoot and has not been taken away. At the foot of the tree a shrine has been built with a sitting Buddha which ecclesiastics and laymen worship without ceasing. In the city a Buddha's-Tooth shrine has also been built, made entirely of the seven precious substances. The King strictly observes the rites of Brahma, and the religious sentiments of the population inside the city are also firmly established¹³. Ever since this country has been under a Government¹⁴, it has

tion: and thirdly a *wei* is a measure, being either a span with the fingers or with the arms, in which sense it is perfectly intelligible here. Moreover, Mr. Beal has eight or nine props but only *one* shoot, though he states that "the props" (in the plural) were pierced though the centre, showing clearly that he got into hopeless confusion and slurred over the text as best he could.

13. The text has 王淨修梵行城內信敬之情亦篤. For this Mr. Beal gives "The king purifies himself according to the strictest Brahmanical rules, whilst those men within the city who reverence (this relic) from a principle of belief, also compose their passions according to strict rule." In translating this passage we should have gladly availed ourselves of some friendly assistance: but we have been quite unable to harmonise Mr. Beal's rendering with the text, not to mention that we should have found it difficult to divest ourselves of a prejudice that those who are not faithful over small matters can hardly be looked up to as authorities when greater issues are at stake.

14. In continuation of which apparently violent remarks as to Mr. Beal's powers as a translator, we have only to quote a few simple words in his very next sentence which would amply justify even the the severest structures. The text has 其國立治已來 (the 已 being written as usual for 以), and for this Mr. Beal gives us "This kingdom, from the time when (this chapel) was erected,"—the referring 立 back to the shrine of which we had already taken

known neither famine, revolution ¹⁵, nor rebellion. In the treasury of the priests there are many precious stones and priceless Mo-nis. When the King went in to see this treasury, the sight of the Mo-ni beads made him envious, and he wanted to carry them off by force ¹⁶. At the end of three days he came to his senses, and going to visit the priests knocked his head on the ground in repentance of his former errors, saying to them, "I desire you priests to make a regulation, namely, that from this time forth you do not permit a King to enter this treasury until he has been a mendicant for forty years ¹⁷, when he may be allowed to enter." In this city there are many scholars and rich people. The dwellings of the Sa-pu ¹⁸ merchants are very elegant: the streets and roads are level and well kept. At the heads of four streets there are preaching Halls, and on the 8th, 14th, and 15th of each month, a high platform is prepared, and ecclesiastics and laymen come together from all quarters ¹⁹ to hear the

a final leave, and ignoring 治 as if its occurrence in the text had no meaning whatever. We commend to Mr. Beal's attention the common phrase 立國建業.

15. These last two are 喪亂, translated by Mr. Beal "calamity or revolution." But 喪 must here be read in the 去聲 with the meaning disruption of the government (no. 16).

16. 奪取. The sense of the first character is lost in Mr. Beal's "take it away with him."

17. 看比邱滿四十臘. Mr. Beal gives, "except he is a member of the fraternity and of forty years of age." But the grammar of the words will not allow of this separation into two clauses. Literally, it would be "until (he is) a full forty-year Bik-shu,"—whatever that may mean.

18. 薩薄. Mr. Beal translates this "Sabean," or merchants of Saba. Rémusat throws no light on it.

19. 道俗四衆, for which Mr. Beal gives "the religious members of the community of both sexes." It is not clear what

Law. The people of the country say there are between fifty and sixty thousand priests altogether, all of whom obtain their food from a common fund ²⁰. The King separately provides a common stock of food inside the city for five or six thousand (more) ²¹, and those who want some take their bowls in their hands and go to fetch it, returning with them filled according to the capacity of each. Buddha's tooth is usually brought out in the middle of the third moon. Ten days previously the King decks out a largo elephant and deposes some one who speaks well to dress up in royal clothes and ride the elephant, beating a drum and proclaiming in a loud voice, "The Bodhisatva for three a-sêng-chih ²² kalpas "practised self-mortification without sparing himself; he "gave up his country, wife, and child; he took out his "eyes to give to a fellow-creature; he cut off his flesh

much tempted to add—"of nonsense." For it is only by utter violation of all rule that Mr. Beal can arrive at the above meaning. If anything, it must be "ecclesiastics and laymen of the four classes," and then the question would arise what are the four classes to which ecclesiastics and laymen belong. We have preferred to take 四衆 as the common contraction of 四方人衆, and thereby escape the difficulty of classes altogether.

20. The absurdity of "take their meals in common" for 衆食 here begins to dawn upon Mr. Beal. He has changed his text to "live in community," the vague meaning of which he explains in parentheses by the old incorrect translation quoted above.

21. Apparently because the term here employed is 人 and not 僧, Mr. Beal has chosen to translate it by "persons," as if priests were not meant, which is quite against the spirit of the passage as implied in the character 別.

22. L'asankya équivaut à cent quadrillions." *Résumé*. Mr. Beal tells us that it takes twenty antah-kalpas to make one asankya-kalpa, and that were the surface of the earth to increase in elevation at the rate of only one inch in one thousand years, it would reach the height of 28 mil. before the *antah-kalpa* was finished.

"to save a dove, his head to give as alms; he
 "gave his body to a hungry tiger; he did not stint his
 "marrow and brains. Thus in various ways he suffered
 "for the benefit of living creatures, and accordingly became
 "a Buddha tarrying forty-nine years on earth to preach
 "and convert (sinners), giving rest to the weary, and
 "saving those who knew not salvation. When his relations
 "with living creatures had been fulfilled,²³ he entered Nir-
 "vāna, and since that time²⁴, 1497 years, the Eye of the
 "world has been put out and all living creatures have
 "sorely grieved. Ten days hence Buddha's tooth will be
 "brought forth and be taken to the Wu-wei-shan shrine.
 "Let all those ecclesiastics and laymen of this country who
 "wish to lay up happiness for themselves, help to level the
 "roads, adorn the streets, and prepare flowers, incense,
 "and the implements²⁵ of worship." When he has recited
 these words, the king then proceeds to make on both
 sides of the road²⁶ representations of the five hundred
 different forms under which the Bodhisatva successively

23. The text has 衆生緣盡, for which Mr. Beal gives us
 "Having passed through countless births," not one single word of
 which are we able to identify with the original. Rémusat was much
 nearer with "Tous les êtres vivants étant ainsi sauvés," though he
 (or Klaproth) evidently did not quite grasp the meaning of 緣.

24. Mr. Beal quite spoils this sentence by almost exactly copying
 Rémusat's incorrect rendering. He says, "Since that event is 1497
 years (sic). The eyes of the world were then put out, etc."

25. The text has 辦衆華香供養之具, for which Mr.
 Beal gives "scatter every kind of flower, and offer incense in religious
 reverence to the Relic." 具 is thus utterly ignored, as it had pre-
 viously been by Rémusat.

26 夾道兩邊. Mr. Beal takes no notice of 夾. A Chinese
 definition of the first two characters is 兩邊房舍中間留一
 路以通人行—which we have to the Chinese to do.

appeared; for instance, as Hsü-ta-na²⁷, or as a flash of lightning, as the king of the elephants, as a stag, or as a horse. These representations are all beautifully painted and have a life-like appearance. The Tooth is then brought out and passes along the central²⁸ street, receiving homage all the way along. Arriving at the Hall of Buddha²⁹ in the Wu-wei-shan shrine, ecclesiastics and laymen flock together in crowds, burn incense, light lamps, and perform the various religious ceremonies day and night without ceasing. After nineteen days they return it to the shrine in the city. This shrine is opened on fast-days for worship according to the Law. Forty *li* to the east of the Wu-wei-shan shrine there is a hill with a shrine on it called Po-t'i,³⁰ where there are about two thousand priests. Among them there is a distinguished³¹ Shaman named Ta-mo-chu-ti³², whom all the people of this country respect and look up to. He has lived in a stone cell for more than forty years. By

27. Mr. Beal says "The French edition gives Sou-ta-nou, but mine has Su-jin-nou." He might have guessed that the middle character 人 was a misprint for 大, as otherwise it would not be so readily identified with the Sanscrit *sutana*.

28. 中道而行. Mr. Beal's "along the principal street," is an improvement on Rénusat's "par le milieu de la route," but we see no reason why the text should not be literally translated.

29. Mr. Beal misunderstands the grammatical relation of these words. The text has 到無畏山佛堂上, but Mr. Beal gives "When they arrive at the Abhayagiri Vihāra, they place it in the Hall of Buddha." Rénusat was equally inaccurate in his rendering of the last three characters—"on monte à la salle de Foü." Wu-wei-shan is evidently in the genitive case.

30. Bôlhi. "Fah Hian no doubt refers to the celebrated Mahintalā, eight miles due east of Anuradhapura." *Beal*.

31. 大德—"used for *bhaddanta*, a title like Reverend, given to Buddhist priests." *Williams*.

32. Dharmakoti or Dharmagupt. *Beal*.

constant exercise of kindness he has succeeded in influencing snakes and rats so that they will live together in the same cell³³ without hurting one another.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Seven *li* to the south of the city there is a shrine, called Mo-ho-pi-ho-lo,¹ with three thousand resident priests. Among them was one distinguished Shaman who was so pure in his conduct that all suspected him of being a Lo-han. When he was at the point of death the king came to see him, and when the priests were assembled according to regulation he asked² "Has the Bikshu attained perfect Wisdom?" They then spoke out the truth and replied "He is a Lo-han." When he was dead the king buried him with the ceremonies of a Lo-han as laid down in the Sacred Books. Fifty *li* to the east of the shrine a great pile of wood was collected, over thirty feet square and about the same height. Sandal-wood, garroo-wood, and all kinds of scented woods were placed at

33. 同止一室--evidently in his own cell. Yet Mr. Beal says "so that they stop together in one habitat." The use of a "tall" term like *habitat* ought to carry conviction with it, but unfortunately the Chinese word 室 has not that signification, and moreover has just been used to express the cell in which the old priest lived.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. "C'est le sanscrit *mahāvihāra*, le grand temple, ou plutôt le grand monastère." *Résumé*.

2. As far as grammar is concerned this paragraph might be rendered "asked the Bikshu, 'Hast thou attained perfect Wisdom?' He then spoke out the truth and said he was a Lo-han."

the top,³ and at the four sides steps were made.⁴ Over it was spread a piece of clean white cashmere, which surrounded and quite covered the pyre, and on the top⁵ of this a car was made, in form like the hearses used here, but without the dragon.⁶ At the time of the *shé-wéi*⁷ the king and his subjects from all quarters⁸ collected together, and with offerings of flowers and incense, followed the

3. Mr. Beal says, "*Near* the top they placed *tiers* of sandal-wood, etc.;" but neither of the words we have italicised has any existence in the text.

4. Mr. Beal takes the 上 from the beginning of the next sentence and adds it on here—"by which to ascend it." But this though not necessarily erroneous, spoils the rhythm of the first sentence and leaves the second bald.

5. We should like to relegate this troublesome 上, as Mr. Beal does, to the end of the last sentence, but such violation of grammar and rhythm, "*non di, non homines*," and certainly not the ordinary rules of Chinese composition would permit. 上 is troublesome because it would appear that the car is made on the top of the pyre, whereas it is only hoisted up at the time of the cremation.

6. The text has 但無龍魚耳, and these words were a great puzzle to Klaproth and Landresse who finally left them untranslated, adding in a note that no "*renseignement*" on the subject could be obtained, but that probably they signified a bier without any ornaments of dragons or fishes. This was a very creditable surmise. Mr. Beal, however, rushes into the field with "except that there are no dragon-ear handles to it," thus avoiding the French translator's mistake of regarding 魚 as *fishes*, but committing the more egregious blunder of rendering the final particle 耳 by "ear," and further introducing the idea of "handles" which has no existence in the text. Had Mr. Beal ever watched a funeral procession in China he would have observed that the bier on which the coffin is carried to its final resting-place has a figure-head of a dragon striving to swallow an enormous pearl strung on a cord, one end of which is fastened in the dragon's throat and the other held by a man who precedes the bier. The character 魚 is of course untranslatable.

7. Cremation.

8. We have here the same character 四衆 as in chapter xxxviii (note 17), but Mr. Beal now says nothing about "the four classes."

car to the burial ground, the king himself making offerings of flowers and incense. When these were finished, the car was placed on the top of the pyre; lophantus oil⁹ was poured all over it, and a light applied. As the fire was burning up every one was moved by a feeling of reverence, and each took off his upper garment and, with the feather fans¹⁰ and umbrellas, threw them from a distance into the midst of the flames, so as to help on the cremation. When it was all over, the bones were collected and a pagoda raised. Fa Hsien did not arrive while he was still alive, but only in time to see his funeral. The king being steadfast in his belief in Buddhism wished to make a new shrine for the priests. He therefore gave them a great banquet, and when they had finished he selected a couple of fine oxen¹¹ and decorated their horns

9. 蘇油, Oil of sweet basil. Mr. Beal gives "oil of cinnamon."

10. The text has 羽儀傘蓋, for which Mr. Beal gives us, "their wing-like fans, *which they use as sun-shades*," the absurdity of which we need not stop to point out. In modern times 羽儀 has come to mean the paraphernalia (執事) of a mandarin, but formerly its signification was that given in the text, namely, large feather fans which were carried in front of every petty prince or chieftain. This of course applies to China; but whether the same custom of carrying these fans existed in Ceylon or whether in the time of Fa Hsien these two characters had already acquired their general sense of 執事, we must leave to the researches of the reader. A survival of the "feather fans" may be traced in the huge wooden () fans carried before the emperor at the present day.

11. The text has 選好土牛一雙. The reader will observe we have left the word 土 untranslated. Messrs. Renoussat and Beal render the sentence respectively "un couple de bons bœufs de labour" and "a pair of strong *work* oxen." There are three other ways of expressing 土, all of which have more claim to correctness than the above —

1.—Oxen of the country, or 本地牛.

2.—"Water" oxen, or 水牛.

with gold, silver, and other valuables. He also made a golden plough,¹² and with his own hands ploughed the four sides of a *ch'ing*,¹³ which he subsequently ceded, population, fields, houses and all,¹⁴ writing out title-deeds¹⁵ for the same. Ever¹⁶ since that time, these have been handed down from generation to generation, and no one has dared to destroy or alter them. When Fa Hsion was in this country he heard a Buddhist pilgrim from India reciting the *ching* from a lofty dais, say, "Buddha's alms-bowl was originally in Pi-shê-li. It is now in the country of Chien-t'o-wei.

3.—Oxen made of clay, like those used by the Emperor when he goes through the form of breaking the soil at the Temple of Earth.

Mr. Beal makes 土 equivalent to 耕田的, which is therefore not the same as our No. 2, for water buffaloes are commonly employed in agriculture all over the East.

12. 作好金犁. Mr. Beal says "a beautifully gilded plough." But 好, which here equals 成, belongs to 作, and has nothing to do with the appearance of the plough. Taking it erroneously, as Mr. Beal does, it could still never mean "beautifully gilded," but a plough of good gold. Rémusat has "une belle charrue d'or."

13. 王自耕頃四邊. Mr. Beal says "the four sides of the allotted space." But the character 頃 is a land measure equal to about fifteen square acres and tells us exactly how large the allotted space was. Its size tempts us to believe that the oxen were of clay and that the king did not actually go round it himself.

14. Meaning that the revenue derived therefrom should in future belong to the priests.

15. 鐵券, which Mr. Beal again renders by "a metal plate." See *ante*.

16. In defiance of all laws, syntactical and otherwise, Mr. Beal makes this sentence a kind of legend engraved on the "metal plate." The first four characters will be enough to convince the ordinary student of the gross inaccuracy of such a rendering. They are 自是已後—translated by Mr. Beal "From this time." The 是 would have been 今.

After a certain number of years,¹⁷ (Fa Hsien, at the time when he heard the recitation, had the exact number, but has now forgotten it) it will be taken on to the western Yüeh-shih country; after another period, to the land of Yü-t'ien; after another, to the country of Ch'u-tz'u;¹⁸ after another, back again to China; after another on to Ceylon; and after another, back again to Central India. When it has arrived in Central India, it will then be taken up to the Tou-shu heaven, and Maitreya Bodhisatva, seeing it, will exclaim with a sigh, "The alms-bowl of Shih-chia-wên has arrived." Thereupon all the gods will make offerings of flowers and incense for seven days, and when these have expired it will be returned to Yen-fu-t'i where a sea-dragon king will take it into his dragon palace. Then when Mi-lo attains perfect Wisdom, it will again be divided into four and revert to its original position on mount P'in-na. After Mi-lo has attained perfect wisdom, the four heavenly kings will proceed to recognise him as Buddha with the same ceremonies as in

17. We are now "treading on thin ice." The text has 若干百年, and Mr. Bod reads it "In somewhat like a hundred years," adding in a note "M. Julien has pointed out in his preface to the life of Hsüan Tsang, the mistake in the Chinese Text throughout this passage—the word 'tsen' a thousand, being misprinted for 'kan.' The name of Stanislas Julien is enough to command the respect and attention of all readers; but the authority of no one should be allowed to interfere with freedom of thought and speech, or bind down the disciple to an unwilling acquiescence in the dictum of the master. We do not consider that 千 is a misprint for 千. We have no difficulty in understanding 千百 as a vague term of years, the exact number of which Fa Hsien had forgotten; and moreover, the sentence seems to require some mutual parallel, such as 若 to make it intelligible. If after all 若干百年 is a gift, then we should say it was given us, 'a hundred and a few years,' or 'a few hundred years,' as Mr. Bod reads it."

18. The Chinese text says "to the country of Ch'u-tz'u." The

the case of former Buddhas. The thousand Buddhas of this kalpa of sages will all use this alms-bowl ; and when it is gone the Law of Buddha will gradually die out. When the Law of Buddha is extinct, the life of man will decrease in length to about five or ten years' duration ; rice and butter will both disappear ; mankind will be very wicked ; the sticks they grasp will change into knives and clubs :¹⁹ they will wound and slay each other. Those amongst them who have done any good works will flee up into the mountains, and when the wicked have killed each other to the last man, they will again come forth and say among themselves, ' Of old men lived to a great age ; but because of the great wickedness (of this generation) and constant violation of the law, our term of years has thus been shortened to only ten years. Let us now one and all practise good works ; let us raise within ourselves a spirit of compassion and mercy ; let us cultivate humanity and justice.²⁰ Thus, with the general practice of sincerity and justice, the duration of life will continually be doubled until it reaches 80,000 years.' When Mi-lo enters the world and begins to turn the wheel of the Law, he will first save those disciples to whom Shih-chia bequeathed the Law, those²¹ who have entered the priest-

19. The text has 捉木則變成刀杖, and the translation we have given is anything but satisfactory. 則 might possibly be a misprint for 削. Mr. Beal translates the last two characters by "sharp clubs (or, knives and clubs)." We object to an alternative on such a simple phrase.

20. Mr. Beal here strangely brings what men "say among themselves to" an abrupt close, making the next sentence part of Fa Hsien's narrative.

21. This passage is quite misrendered by Mr. Beal. He says "his earliest converts will be the followers of the bequeathed law of Sakya Buddha, who have forsaken their families, and sought refuge in the

hood, and those who hold to the three refuges, the five commandments, and the rules for fasting, as well as making offerings to the Three Precious Ones. Secondly, and thirdly, he will save those whose destiny²³ it is (to be so saved)." Fa Hsien thereupon wished to write down these sayings, but the man said "There is no text of this: I merely repeat what I have heard."²³

CHAPTER XL.

Fa Hsien remained in this country for two years. After repeated search he obtained a copy of the Mi-sha-sai¹ Disciplines. He first got the Great A-han² and the

three sacred names, and observed the five great commandments, and attended to their religious duties in making continued offerings to the three precious objects of worship." But it seems clear to us from the syntax of the original that three distinct classes are spoken of, and not one as Mr. Beal would make out. If his single class were 出家人, the mention of only *five* commandments would be incorrect; but applied to the laity as distinguished from the clergy, it becomes intelligible and correct. The text has 先度釋迦遺法第子出家人及受三歸五戒齋法供養三寶者.

22. The text has 有緣者. Mr. Beal says "those who, by their previous conduct, have put themselves in a condition for salvation." This is not a bad amplification of 緣, but is too diffuse for a professedly literal translation.

23. The text has 此無經本我止口誦耳. Mr. Beal says, "This is no sacred book, but only what I have learnt by memory, and repeat verbally." We should like to see how Mr. Beal adapts his text to the original, and also to hear him "repeat" anything otherwise than "verbally." The latter half of the sentence is strikingly elliptical. In full it would be something like 我只受人家口授而誦耳.

CHAPTER XI

1. School of the Mahāsāṅghikas. *Beal*

2. *Agama*. *Levi* 10 p. 337

Miscellaneous A-han, and subsequently a set of miscellaneous Tsang, all of which China was without. When he had obtained these in their original tongue, he took passage on board a large merchant-vessel, on which there were over two hundred souls, and astern of which there was a small vessel in case of accident at sea and the destruction of the big vessel. Catching a fair wind, they proceeded east for two days when they encountered a heavy gale, and the ship sprung a leak. The merchants wished to pass on to³ the small vessel, but the men on her, afraid that too many would come, cut the rope in two.⁴ The merchants were very frightened, for death was close at hand; and fearing that the ship would fill, immediately took what bulky goods there were and threw them into the sea. Fa Hsien also took his pitcher and ewer with whatever else he could spare⁵ and threw them into the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants would throw over his books and images, and accordingly⁶ fixed his whole thoughts on Kuan-shih-yin and prayed to the sainted priests of the land of Han, (saying,) "I have journeyed far in search of the Law. Oh that by your awful power you would turn back the flow (of the leak), that we might arrive at some resting-place?" Thus⁷ the

3. The text has 趣. Mr. Beal says "haul up," which would necessitate his saying a little farther down "to haul up Canton" instead of "to arrive at" that place.

4. 卽斫絙斷, for which Mr. Beal gives "cut the towing-cable and fell off," as if he had quite misunderstood the meaning of the last character.

5. This seems to be the force of 餘物; not simply "other portions of his property" as Mr. Beal renders it.

6. We have here following a sentence which seems worth the passing attention of the reader. The text has 唯一心念觀世音及歸命漢地衆僧. Ignoring Klaproth's version, as

gale blew on for thirteen days and nights when they arrived alongside of an island, and then, at ebb tide, they saw the place where the vessel leaked and forthwith stopped it up, after which they again proceeded on their way. This sea is infested by pirates: to meet them⁸ is death. The expanse of ocean is boundless; east and

being merely a wild guess at the meaning without reference to the syntax, we pass on to Mr. Beal's. He says, "And so with earnestness of heart he invoked Avâlokitêswara, and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints (the priesthood) of the land of Han." He further gives two notes explaining (1) that "the phrase *yih-sin* one heart, is a very usual one in Buddhist liturgical works," and we might add in almost every Chinese work that ever was put together. Mr. Beal then tells us "it denotes the union of the soul of the supplicant with the ideal object of worship, what we should call, perhaps, *spiritual worship*"—all of which we must take leave to designate in the forcible slang of the United States as "high falutin'." The character 一 is simply a common intensive: 一心 with the whole heart, 一早 very early in the morning, etc., etc. The second note informs us that the phrase *kwei ming* is equivalent to the Sanscrit *Namo*, a term of invocation in prayer; also that there is a corresponding expression *kwei i* (歸依), sometimes used. Thus we have 歸命 a verb joined to the preceding 念 by the copulative 及, where we most certainly should have looked for 並. We prefer "prayed" as the translation of 歸命.

7. The text has here the usual 如是. We must protest strongly against Mr. Beal's rendering of these two words. He says "*Nevertheless*, the hurricane, etc.," which of course seems like a Jesuitical sneer at Fa Hsien's prayers, though it is the height of absurdity to put the remark into Fa Hsien's own mouth. We gladly accept the alternative that "*nevertheless*" was a mere slip of the pen.

8. Here Mr. Beal falls into a grave error. The text has 遇輒無全, for which Mr. Beal gives "who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything." But 輒 has not here its common meaning "suddenly;" it stands for the more usual 則. The sentence is literally "meeting (the pirates), then near-saved"—to keep the same number of words as in the original. More-*over*, the last two characters refer to life and not to property. Klaproth's translation is correct.

west are not distinguishable; only by observation of the sun, moon, and stars,⁹ is progress to be made. In cloudy and rainy weather, (the ship) moved according to the wind without keeping any definite course.¹⁰ In the darkness of night nothing was to be seen but the great waves beating upon each other and flashing forth light like fire, huge turtles, sea-lizards, and such like monsters¹¹ of the deep. Then the merchants would¹² lose heart, not knowing whither they were going, and the sea being deep without bottom they had moreover no place where they could cast anchor and stop.¹³ When the sky cleared up, they were then able to tell east from west and again to proceed on their proper course. Had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape. Thus it was for more than ninety days until they reached a country

9. Mr. Beal here adds "in their motions," which is either superfluous or else a mistranslation of the two concluding characters 而進.

10. 若陰雨時爲遂風去亦無准當. Mr. Beal's translation of this passage is unworthy an officer who has sailed in Her Majesty's fleet, and is most certainly not the meaning of the text. He says "If it is dark, rainy weather, the only plan is to steer by the wind without guide." Can this be the explanation of the loss of the *Frappard*?—substituting foggy for rainy weather.

11. "Monstra natantia."

12. Mr. Beal puts this in the wrong tense. He says, "The merchant men were now much perplexed," as if Fa H-sien was alluding to one particular occasion, though we are told plainly in almost the next sentence that this went on for 90 days.

13. These last few words 又無下石住處. Mr. Beal quite mistakes the grammar of this passage. He says "so that there was not even a rock for anchorage." But 石 is the anchor itself, stones being used for that purpose even in the present day. Only a week ago we noticed some fishermen weigh anchor near Ch'ao-chou Fu, and up came two large blocks of stone lashed to a couple of sharp-pointed stakes in such a manner as to make a very good holdfast. 下 is of course a verb.

called Yeh-p'o-t'i,¹⁴ where there were plenty of heretics and Brahmans but not enough Buddhism to be worth mentioning. After having stopped in this country five months,¹⁵ Fa Hsien again shipped on board another large merchant vessel which also carried over two hundred persons. They took with them provisions for fifty days and set sail on the 16th of the 4th moon. Fa Hsien settled himself on board¹⁶ and a north-east course was taken in order to arrive at Canton.¹⁷ Over a month had elapsed when one night in the second watch¹⁸ they encountered a violent¹⁹ gale with tempestuous rain, at which

14. 耶婆提, Java. While putting the notes to this last chapter we have received a copy of Mr. Groeneveldt's *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, in which he gives a translation of a part of this chapter. He has made Mr. Beal's version his basis, correcting the most glaring, but we are bound to say not all, of Mr. Beal's many errors. From him we learn that "Yava Dwipa does not mean, as has been thoughtlessly said and repeated, *the country of the barley*, for the simple reason that barley could not grow there."

15. 五月日—a not uncommon phrase equivalent to 五月那麼多的日子. Mr. Beal improvises "the best portion of five months."

16. 法顯於船上安居. Mr. Beal gives "Fah Hsien was very comfortable on board this ship," which of course is absurd. Mr. Groeneveldt says "While Fahsien was on board of this ship;" but this is not quite accurate when taken with the context.

17. 廣州. Messrs. Beal and Groeneveldt both make this "the province of Canton," as if any part of it would do equally well with another. It seems clear to us that the port of Canton is meant.

18. 夜鼓二時, for which Mr. Beal (and Mr. Groeneveldt) gives "at the stroke of two in the middle watch of the night." First of all we can hardly believe that a gale of wind burst upon them exactly at the stroke of two; and secondly, we fail to discover anything about the "middle" watch. From time immemorial the Chinese night has been divided into five watches, and it was *during* the second of these—say about 10 p.m.—that the storm broke. The text is literally "night drum second (watch) time." Klaproth was right enough.

the merchants and others were very much frightened, but Fa Hsien again fixed his whole thoughts upon Kuan-shih-yin and the (sainted) priests of the land of Han, and was accorded²⁰ the protection of their awful power until day broke. When it was light, the Brahmans took counsel, saying, "Taking this Shaman on board has been to our disadvantage, causing us to get into this great trouble. We ought to land the mendicant on an island; it is not right to endanger all our lives for one man." To which Fa Hsien's patron²¹ replied, "If you land this mendicant, you shall also land me with him; if not, you had better kill me, for supposing you land this Shaman, when I reach China I will report you to the King of the country who is a supporter of Buddhism and honours the priesthood." The merchants wavered and did not dare to land him just then. At this time the sky was constantly clouded, and the captain of the ship kept losing his reckoning.²² So they went on for seventy days until

19. Literally, "a black wind," or as Mr. Beal translates it "a black squall." But 黑 can hardly be taken here in its primary sense.

20. 蒙威神佑得至天曉, which Mr. Beal (and Mr. Groeneveldt, though in different words) most erroneously renders "to exert their Divine power in his favour, and bring them daylight." He thus ignores 蒙 with its special meaning of "receiving from a superior" altogether, though it clearly implies the response of the higher powers to his prayer, carried out in the 佑 protection afforded through the night. Such translation as "bring them daylight" is positively beneath notice.

21. 檀越 His *dānapati*.

22. Mr. Beal translates this last sentence "the pilots began to look at one another in mutual distrust," wisely adding—*o utinam sapius!*—"This passage is obscure." Mr. Groeneveldt makes a faint effort at improvement by changing Mr. Beal's last three words into "without knowing what to do." The text has 海師相望僻誤, but the key word is not 誤 相 望 去 聲 meaning *to see, to look at*, but 誤 去 聲 meaning *to be mistaken, to be wrong*. It should read,

the provisions, water, and congee, were nearly exhausted, and they had to use sea water for cooking, dividing the fresh water amongst them so that each man got about two pints.²³ When all was nearly consumed, the merchants consulted and said, "The ordinary time for the voyage to Canton is exactly fifty days. We have now exceeded that limit by many days: can we have done otherwise than go wrong?" Thereupon they proceeded north west in search of land, and after twelve days and nights arrived south of the Lao²⁴ mountains in the Ch'ang-kuang district,²⁵ where they obtained fresh water and vegetables. And now,²⁶ after having passed through much danger, difficulty, sorrow, and fear, suddenly reach-

"The sailing-master in his observations kept going astray." A 望頭 is a land-mark, or guide of any kind. We are fully justified by the context in using the imperfect tense.

23. It is somewhat tempting to tack these opening words on to the last sentence and with quite a different meaning, namely, "for each to use up as he pleased." The text has 遂便欲盡, which would almost lend such interpretation, but the next sentence would then be left without a head.

23. 將無僻耶—a sample sentence which Mr. Beal insults his readers by translating "Shall we then undertake the navigation ourselves?" This is truly more ridiculous than Klaproth's "nous n'avons plus de ressources."

24. Mr. Beal says in a note "The mountains of Lau—for there are two—are situated in the southern portion of the Shantung promontory in the department of Lai-chow,"—all of which, by the way, as well as his following note, is taken from the French edition without acknowledgment.

25. 長廣郡. Of course we do not use *Chang-kwang* in its modern sense.

26. The following exquisite passage is badly mutilated both by both Mr. Beal and Mr. Groeneveldt. The text is too long to quote, but we may mention for the benefit of students of the original that we put a stop after the 然 or 依然 and not before 依. We cannot find the English equivalent of 藜藿.

ing this shore and seeing the old familiar *Li hou*, they knew it was their fatherland, but not observing either inhabitants or any traces of such, they did not know what part it was. Some said they had not got as far as Canton; others said they had already passed it. Being in a state of uncertainty, some of them got into a small boat and went up a creek to search for someone whom they might ask about the place. These secured two hunters and brought them back²⁷ (to the ship), telling Fa Hsien to act as interpreter and question them. Fa Hsien began by reassuring them and then quietly²⁸ asked "What people are you?" They replied "We are followers of Buddha." He further asked "What is it you go among the hills to seek?" They then began to lie, saying, "To-morrow is the 15th of the 7th month;²⁹ we wanted to get something to sacrifice to Buddha." Fa Hsien then asked "What country is this?" They answered "This is Ch'ang-kuang in Ch'ing-chou, belonging³⁰ entirely to the Liu family." When they heard this, the merchants were very glad, and at once requested that their goods

27. The text has 得兩獵人即將歸. Mr. Beal translates it "Just at this moment, two men who had been hunting were returning home." It would be superfluous to point out to the intelligent student of the text the utter inaccuracy and want of meaning in such a rendering.

28. 徐問. Mr. Beal thinks proper to take no notice of the first character here given.

29. The festival of 中元.

30. Mr. Beal says "dependent on the Liou family." But what is meant is the very common phenomenon of a large tract of country *belonging* to a family or clan, all the members of which bear the same name and live in the same village, being unable, according to Chinese law, to intermarry amongst themselves, but each obliged to seek a wife with a different surname from one of the neighbouring hamlets.

(might be landed) and sent men with them to Ch'angkuang. The Prefect, Li I, who was devoted to the Law of Buddha, when he heard that a Shaman had arrived who had brought Sacred Books and images with him in a ship³¹ from beyond the sea, immediately proceeded with his retinue to the sea-shore to receive these books and images and take them back to his city. The merchants then went off on their way to Yang-chow, * * * * [32] invited Fa Hsien to remain a winter and a summer. When this period was over, Fa Hsien, far separated from the assembly of ecclesiastics for many years, was desirous of reaching Ch'ang-an, but because of the great importance of his undertaking he accordingly proceeded south towards the capital, and handed over to the ecclesiastics (there) the Sutras and Precepts (he had brought back). Fa Hsien spent six years in travelling from Ch'ang-an to Central India. He stayed there six years, and took three more to reach Ch'ing-chow. The countries he

[illegible]

32. Heron, *ibid.*, 1941, p. 104, fig. 16, locality
Chang-shan, 鄞江青州

passed through amounted to rather less than thirty. From the west of the Sandy Desert all the way to India, the dignified position of the priesthood and the good results of religious influence were beyond all expression. As, however, the ecclesiastics had no means of hearing about these things, he gave no thought to his trifling life, coming home across the sea and encountering all kinds of difficulties. Happily, he was accorded the awful protection of the Three Honoured Ones, and was thus preserved in his hour of danger. Therefore he wrote down on bamboo slips and silk what he had done, desiring that the worthy reader³³ should share this information.

[*End of Fa Hsien's Narrative.*]

It was in the year Chia Yin, the twelfth of the reign of I Hsi of the (Eastern) Chin dynasty, when the star of longevity was ruling,³⁴ in the summer, that I,³⁵ Ngan Chü, went out to meet Fa Hsien, the Buddhist, and when he arrived kept him with me in the Winter suite.³⁶ Because when discoursing together, to repeated questions about his travels he answered affably and without hesitation, in every way in keeping with the truth, I therefore urged him to write out in detail that which he had previously sketched. Fa Hsien again told the whole story from

33. 賢者. Here it appears to us and to the Chinese commentator, ends the narrative of Fa Hsien, the following passage having been added by an anonymous hand during the Chin 晉 dynasty. Mr. Beal, however, says that Fa Hsien's words end at "brought back," a few lines higher up, but gives no authority.

34. 歲在壽星. Canopus.

35. 安居末. Mr. Beal commonly used in this way. It is apparently the name of some brother priest.

36. 冬齋. A formal name, somewhat corresponding to our Blue Room, Oak Room, and such terms.

beginning to end, and said " Looking back on what I have gone through, involuntarily my heart throbs and a perspiration breaks out. That, in the dangers I encountered on foot or otherwise, I did not spare this body, is because I devoted my energies wholly to this one object ; therefore I risked my life in places where there was no certainty of escape, in order to accomplish even a fraction of what I hoped for." Thereupon I was much affected, and sighing (said), " This kind of man is rarely seen. From the time that the Great Teaching" began to flow eastwards, there has been no one forgetful of his life in the cause of religion to be compared with Fa Hsien." Then I knew that sincerity never fails to move (the gods) ; for if it had not (moved them in the present instance), then Fa Hsien would not have received the reward for his exertions. There cannot be good service without success, and the man who brings his labours to a successful issue — is he not the man who neglects that which is generally prized, and values that which is generally neglected ?

37. Buddhism.

38. Namely, life.

39. The Law of Buddha.

APPENDIX.

NOTE BY SHÊN SHIH-LUNG.

As regards records of the bringing back of Sacred Books from India, we have only the narratives of the two priests Fa Hsien and Yüan Chuang¹ in the Buddhist collections, and the accounts of Sung Yun and Hui Shêng in the Annals of the Lo-yang monastery, which have any claim upon our attention. Yet although the Annals of the monastery are exact and agreeably written, the narratives in the Tsang² go more into detail and are more elegant in style. Preeminently so is the *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, which in general scope, elegance, terseness, comprehensiveness of style is not inferior to the models of the Chin dynasty. These narratives differ somewhat as to the places visited. Fa Hsien travelled from Tun-huang westwards, and returned by sea from Ceylon; Yuan Chuang left Liang-chou by the Jade Gate³ and came back by way of Khoten; but Sung Yun went from Chih-

1. The celebrated Buddhist priest 元奘 who went to India in the seventh century

2. 藏.

3. 出玉門

ling⁴ to Mang-ku-hun,⁵ and back by the same route, thus exemplifying the apophthegm of Shakyā Muni that "the ways⁶ are many: they cannot be all enumerated." With regard to the Desert, the Onion range, Hsuan-tu,⁷ and the Snowy mountains, these were visited by all alike.

Further, with regard to the passage in Lu Shih's⁸ "Notes" giving the quotation from the *Fo Kuo Chi* as found in the Commentary to the "Water Classic," namely that "the Ganges flows south-east, passing through the city of Chu-i-na-chieh. To the north of the city between the two trees etc," I have been unable to find these words in the original work. They have probably been omitted in the process of copying, and Shan Ch'ang has undoubtedly some grounds for what he says.⁹

From my early youth I have ever had a deep veneration for the Gospel of Mercy,¹⁰ though myself grovelling in the dust and abominations of this world; and though neither my teachers nor my friends have any of them been great travellers, and I myself have been averse to leaving home,—yet whenever I hear of others risking their lives in dangerous places or seeking the Truth¹¹ in strange

4. 赤嶺. Mr. Beal says "Barren Ridge."

5. Our transliteration of these characters is strictly according to the text which gives 吐谷渾. Mr. Beal writes it "To-ku-wan," as if the first character was 吐, and tells us in a note that the people intended were "Eastern Turks." We leave the point to our readers.

6. This is intended as a play upon the word 道.

7. 懸度.

8. 呂氏筆記. We have been unable to identify this 呂.

9. What these last few words refer to, and who Shan Ch'ang 善長 was, we have been hitherto unable to discover.

10. Buddhism—慈旨.

11. 道.

lands, I feel what a dull, useless creature I am, and my tears begin to flow.

Done at Hsin-shui, by Shên Shih-lung.^{1 2}

12. 沈士龍. We can discover nothing about this individual from the very slender sources at our command.

Mr. Wylie, in his *Notes on Chinese Literature*, makes the very singular mistake—for a scholar—of always reading the surname 沈 *Ch'in*, instead of *Shin* according to the old orthography, or *Shên*, according to Sir Thomas Wade's.

NOTE BY HU CHÊN-HENG.

The old title of this work was "The Narrative of Fa Hsien." According to a Buddhist priest of the Sung dynasty it should be called the "Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms." The "Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms," in one volume, occurs only in the geographical section of the History of the Sui dynasty: so that the above statement does not seem to have sufficient foundation. There were, however, originally two "Narratives of Fa Hsien," the first of which in two volumes has been lost, and the second of which, in one volume, is the work we have now. At the end of the narrative, a man of the Chin dynasty added "being asked to write down in detail what he had previously sketched, Fa Hsien again went over the whole from beginning to end." Hence the single volume, which was afterwards expanded into a more detailed account in two volumes, but never became popular in that form and accordingly disappeared. Hui Chiao,¹ a Buddhist priest of the Liang dynasty, states that there was another and

1. Lived under the Lian dynasty, and published a 2nd edition of the 高僧傳, mentioned below.

more extensive "Narrative" of the travels of Fa Hsien in these countries which should be called "The Greater Narrative of Fa Hsien" by way of distinction.

With regard to the text of the "Record," there are certain points that deserve some attention. For instance, "the second year of Hung Shih" is, according to Yao Hsing's² Chronology, the fourth year of the style Lung Ngan in the reign of the emperor Ngan Ti of the Chin dynasty. Again, "the nation of Ch'ien Kuei" is the fief of Wan-ch'uan,³ governed by Ch'i-fu-ch'ien-kuei. Similarly, "the prince of Chang-yeh" is Tuan yeh, prince of Liang. And "the prefect of Tun-huang, named Li Kao" (李浩), is the Wu Chao⁴ prince of Liang, named Li Kao (李嵩), for the latter in the third month of that year received instructions from Tuan Yeh to take charge of Tun-huang, and as Fa Hsien spent the rainy season at Chang-yeh before going on to Tun-huang, it is evident that his Kao (浩) should be Kao (嵩), the fact that the two words are pronounced alike being the reason of his orthographical mistake. So with his "kingdom of Nou T'an;" for in the year he passed through, Li-lu-ku the Bald⁵ had but just usurped the throne, and did not die till two years afterwards when Nou T'an reigned in his stead. Thus he was wrong in speaking of Nou T'an, probably because his memory failed him when he subsequently (wrote his narrative). Further, the Shamans who started with him from Ch'ang-ngan were Hui Ching, Tao Ch'eng, Hui Ying, and Hui Wei, and those he met

2. 姚興. We can find nothing about him.

3. 宛川.

4. A title 武昭.

5. This is all we can make of 禿髮利鹿孤.

at Chang-yeh were Chih Yen, Hui Chien Sêng Shao, Pao Yün, and Sêng Ching, making nine in all (including Fa Hsien). When they arrived at the land of Wu-i, Chih Yen, Hui Chien, and Hui Wei, went back to Kao-ch'ang; and when the others arrived at the Wang-hsin temple in Khoten, Sêng Shao left them and went to Chi-pin. Then again at Peshawur, Hui Ta, with Pao Yun, and Sêng Ching, returned to China, and Hui Ching died at the temple of Buddha's alms-bowl, so that the individuals meant in the passage⁶ "Fa Hsien and *the others*, three in all, went south and crossed the lesser snowy mountains," must be Tao Chêng and Hui Ying. How then do we find⁷ "Hui Ching was unable to go on"? The collection of Ecclesiastical Biographies by Hsiao Liang⁸ also gives Hui Ching, which should be Hui Ying—a mistake which has been made ever since the epoch of division between the north and south. Tao Chêng remained finally in India; but Hui Ta's name does not occur among the nine mentioned above. Was he then "travelling with them by a different road"?~

Done at Wu-yuan

by Hu Chên-hêng.¹⁰

6. Chapter xiv.

7. As in Chapter xiv *ad init.*

8. 蕭梁高僧傳. We pass the first two characters over to our readers.

9. A proverbial expression: 他道相從.

10. A celebrated scholar of the Ming dynasty. See Wylie's *Notes* p. 194.

TRANSLATION OF A PASSAGE FROM CHAPTER XXXVI.

BY W. F. MAYERS.

At this Saṅgharama of the Mahayāna order he obtained a copy of the Precepts (Vinaya), to wit, the Precepts of the assembly of the Mahāsaṅghika, which were those observed by the first great assembly, convened during the lifetime of Buddha. This work was given forth (or, handed down, promulgated¹) at the Jētavana temple. Besides this,² the eighteen schools³ each have

1. The character 本, here translated "work," might possibly also be held to signify "commencement," or "original," but the context seems to forbid such a rendering. The construction of the sentence is so peculiar as to leave the meaning, in any case, obscure, even to a Chinese reader. It should be noted that 本, in the sense of "work" or "volume," is a word found in use on the same page of Fah Hien's narrative. The writers of the Tang dynasty speak of the 梵本 or Sanskrit works brought to China by Fah Hien.

2. The expression 自餘 is perhaps the most puzzling of all in this extremely obscure extract. It is a compound unrecognised by any Chinese authority, but it can scarcely be intended to convey any other meaning than that given to it in the translation.

3. For the eighteen schools of ancient Buddhism see A. Conze de Keros, *As. Res.* xx, p. 298, and Kooppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, p. 152; also Wasthief, *Le Bouddhisme*, p. 100, and p. 62, "le Vinaya commun à toutes les écoles." Kamalaśīla quoted in

canons⁴ of their own, which are identical in their main tenour.⁵ In minor points of difference they may treat the subject with different degrees of freedom.⁶ This, however, is the most comprehensive and complete of all (the treatises).

the *Fan Yih Ming I Tsi*, refers to eighteen *pu* or schools, but these appear to be rather the heretical schools than those which would be recognized by Fah Hien as appertaining to Buddhism proper. Kumâradjiva remarks that the eighteen *pu* are derived from the six 師 or *Tirthya*, of whom Pûrana Kâshyapa was the first. Each of these six heretical teachers, he states, combined in himself three qualities, viz., universal knowledge, supernatural endowments, and a knowledge of the Vedas. Thrice six are eighteen, and thus arose the eighteen sects or classes of doctrine. Cf. Eitel, *Manual of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 147.

4. The compound expression 師資 may mean either teacher or teachings, *i.e.* doctrine in a religious sense. It is illustrated by seven quotations in the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu*, of which the first is extracted from the commentary on the *Kuh-liang Chuan*. It is there defined as 日用之常—the fixed rule of daily observance. Upon this the translation given above is based. In sundry passages from writings of the T'ang dynasty, the compound obviously signifies a Teacher. In the following passage from the 雲笈七籤 it apparently means "teachings":—師資相承蟬聯不絕.

5. The expression 大歸 is identical in meaning with 大致 the "upshot" or main tenour of a proposition. It has no conceivable connection with the dogma of the 三歸 or Trisharana, — the Three Refuges, and the earlier translators are mistaken in accepting it in this sense.

6. The expression 開塞, literally signifying "to open and to close," is quoted in the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu* from six different authors, commencing with the 史記 and extending to the Poems of Su She. In the writings of Hwai Nan Tsze it is used as a parallel to 動靜—movement and repose, or simply "motion;" and a writer named Luh Küeh employs it, in a similar manner, as a parallel to 合離—union and separation, or point of junction or resemblance. (Cf. T. T. Meadows on the "Synthesis of Contradictories." In the text, the expression appears to signify the degree of harmony with, or departure from, the prescriptions of the Vinaya obtained by Fah Hien, which the various schools indulge in.

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VISITED BY FA HSIEN.

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N.e

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